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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

J O S E P H R E E D.



L I F E

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

J O S E P H R E E D,

MILITARY SECRETARY OF WASHINGTON, AT CAMBRIDGE; ADJUTANT-
GENERAL OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY; MEMBER OF THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES; AND PRESIDENT OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

BY HIS GRANDSON,
W I L L I A M B. R E E D.

VOL. II.

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1778.

Mr. Reed's services in Congress—Politics of Pennsylvania—Disputes as to the Constitution of 1776—Parties—Action of the Provincial Convention—Tory Feeling in Philadelphia—General Arnold in Command—Mr. Reed at Camp—Appointment of Cadwalader to Command of Cavalry—Trial of Carlisle and Roberts—Mr. Reed elected President of Pennsylvania—Letters to Greene—Congratulations of Washington and Wayne.

ON the 15th of July, 1778, Mr. Reed, as we have seen, resumed his place in Congress. He remained, with short intervals, at his post till the month of October, when, on his election to the Council of Pennsylvania, he resigned. During this time, his services seem to have been unceasing. He was a member of every important Committee; and, being the only speaking member from his State, seems to have taken a lead in every discussion. He was one of the Signers of the Articles of Confederation, though not present when the amendments proposed to that ill-assorted instrument, on the part of Pennsylvania, were considered and decided.* It is not an easy matter, it

* These amendments and the vote on them will be found in the Journals of Congress, vol. iv. p. 379. They were unimportant, with perhaps one exception. The ninth article provided for "a Committee of States," to sit during the recess of Congress, who, among other things, were to make requisitions for the State

may be observed, from the materials which have survived, to measure with anything like precision, the actual services of the most distinguished men in the Old Congress. The Journal is painfully meagre, being meant apparently to record as little as possible. The deliberations were secret, and the discussions of course conversational. There being at no time more than forty members present, and very often not more than half that number, it is a great error to think of the Congress of those days, as having the least resemblance to the declamatory assembly of our own times. No one made a set speech, simply because there were none to listen. No one printed either what he had or had not spoken, because it was much more safe to bury in profound confidence, the dangerous secrets of revolutionary debate.*

Mr. Reed, throughout his term of service in Congress, so far as we can judge from the journal, and the manuscript reports of the numerous committees on which he was appointed, was an active member of that body. Francis Dana, Gouverneur Morris, and Reed, during the sessions of 1778, were clearly the prominent men.

The history of the next three years of his life, dating from the time at which he resigned his seat in Congress, is the History of Pennsylvania. Placed, as will presently be seen, by the suffrages of all parties, at a time when political feeling was at fever heat, at the head of the Executive Department of the State Government, he threw into the discharge of this trust all his energies, and laboured in the public cause with an intensity of devotion which it is difficult to describe, and which led to the utter prostration of his health, and premature termination of his life. He became the centre of the party which supported the existing frame of Government, and the accredited leader of the Constitutional Whigs.

quotas, on the basis of *white* population. The Pennsylvania amendment proposed to strike out the word *white*. It was lost. Three states voting for it—seven against it, and one divided.

* Occasionally, however, even in this small conclave, there were some signs of disorder and transient indecorum, as in the case of Mr. Burke of North Carolina, narrated in *The Secret Journal*, vol. i. pp. 62—66.

It will be necessary, in describing the state of feeling which existed at the beginning of Mr. Reed's Presidency, to recur briefly to the sketch, already given, of the earlier politics of '76.* No one, who has not tried it, can understand the difficulty of illustrating the tangled politics of those days. Newspapers inferior in kind, and filled with anonymous essays, written with extreme asperity by adverse partisans, must be, at a great waste of time, examined.† Private correspondence, manuscripts, unfortunately every day becoming more rare, must be scrutinized, and judged with full allowance for the strong prejudices and passions of the writers; and no one, after all, can be sure that in the result he has done more than approach the truth.

This is not the place for a discussion of the merits of the Pennsylvania Constitution of '76. According to the received opinions of our times it was very defective. At the time of its adoption, many, and among them Mr. Reed, saw these defects plainly. It was the hurried and necessarily imperfect work of actual revolution, when men's passions were heated, and judgments swayed by transient impulses and irritations. Its main features, so far as they became subjects of political discussion afterwards, were the single Legislative body, an Executive Council, and a President and Vice-President, chosen from its members, an enlarged elective franchise, with no property qualification, but restricted with the strongest oath of abjuration and of allegiance to the Government thus constituted;‡ and lastly, a curiously complex and exclusive provi-

* *Supra*, vol. i. chap. vii. p. 151.

† No one who examines the files of Revolutionary newspapers, can fail to be struck with the talent exhibited in those anonymous articles. The authors were either well known at the time or shrewdly suspected, and evident care was bestowed on their political Essays.

‡ Strange as it may seem to us, whose allegiance is implied and is enforced by no express obligation, these oaths were looked on with great jealousy. One construction given to this oath was, that it was designed to prevent, and did by its obligation prevent the person taking it from attempting to amend the Constitution by means of a convention. A kindred difficulty occurred in 1778, with a portion of the officers of the Continental army, who refused to take an oath prescribed by Congress, because they thought it laid them under a restraint from seeking a change in the military establishment.—*Sparks' Washington*, v. 368.

sion for amendment by the election, at the expiration of seven years, and not before, of what was called a Council of Censors, who were not only to recommend amendments, but revising the legislation of the preceding years, to point out if any violations of the Constitution had occurred. This last provision, an ingenious, if not effective mode of preventing all change when change was most dreaded, was the prolific parent of much painful controversy. As a mode of constitutional amendment it was most perversely cumbersome and useless.

The cavils of the opponents of the Constitution were not confined to the instrument itself. They fancied they had great cause of complaint in the conduct of the Convention which framed it, and its alleged usurpation of legislative authority. The last subject of complaint, I have examined with some care as a curious question in our local history, and the result is a thorough conviction that in it there was no justice whatever.

The right of the Convention to legislate was, if there can be such a thing, a revolutionary right. A constituency gave the power and looked for its exercise, nor does it affect the right that this constituency was but a part of the community. It was the crisis of a civil war when, of necessity, the community was divided, and one part sought to exclude the other from any share in public affairs. It was not a question of majority or minority, the representative body though elected by one, representing both, but it was the representation of a revolutionary, and therefore exclusive party, and if the Convention was elected, as it unquestionably was, by one party or set of men, it no more represented the other party than it did the people of Great Britain. Yet it was principally those who were excluded, or who excluded themselves from voting in the choice of deputies, who most loudly complained of the exercise of legislative power by the Convention. The only question is, did such a constituent body either expressly delegate or tacitly approve the exercise of power? It can be shown it did both, certainly the latter.

The Convention seems, at first, to have regarded the resolutions of the Provincial Conference, under which they acted, as

limited and precise in their intent, and as confining them to the choice of Delegates in Congress, and the institution of a Council of Safety, whose functions were wholly military. It was clearly not thence, that it claimed the right to legislate. The assumption of power seems to have been gradual, justified by an overbearing necessity, and the approval of the only Federal power in existence, the Congress, whose authority, by-the-by, had grown in the same irregular way. For we find at the first day's session of the Convention, that a letter was received from the President of Congress, directed to the Convention, desiring it to legislate in a given case. From time to time this was repeated, and the assumption of power by the Convention seems to have been slowly and diffidently made, the first measures adopted being rather those of suggestion and recommendation, than of decided and positive legislative action. Gradually, however, it assumed and exercised the full power of legislation and government. Each ordinance seemed required by some adequate exigency. The first was to authorize the seizure and appraisement of arms found in the hands of non-associators, and may be considered a measure of revolutionary police. On the next day, Members of Congress were elected. The subsequent measures of legislation during its brief existence, were the Ordinance for punishing counterfeiters of Continental currency, and for defining treason, in courts thereafter to be instituted, and one for the relief of insolvent debtors. On the 23d July, 1776, the Council of Safety was organized, and on the 3d of September, Justices of the Peace throughout the State were appointed. These, with some other measures of less general interest, formed the bulk of the legislation of the Convention. During its brief existence it was of necessity the sole and exclusive government.

No sooner, however, had the Convention closed its session, and proclaimed the new Constitution, than a fierce warfare on all its doings was begun. The press, then confined to the City of Philadelphia, teemed with essays for and against the Constitution, its opponents evidently excelling their adversaries in bitterness, if not in ability. According to their notions, the tyranny of Great Britain was nothing in comparison with that

of the Convention.* All sorts of objections were urged; real and imaginary grievances were dwelt upon. One writer violently censured the new frame of government because it prescribed no other religious test than a belief in God;† another, complains bitterly of the failure to exclude Jews, Mahometans, and Roman Catholics.‡ Graver objections were more temperately urged. Its real defects were palpable enough.

Still in spite of all this, it became the law of this land, and being so, and the first election under it approaching, the anti-constitutional party, actuated by the fierceness of adverse opinions, determined in a spirit as extreme and revolutionary as that of which they complained, to disregard or evade it. The election was in November, 1776. The plan of the opposition in the city was to elect members of Assembly, but no Councillors, and thus, if possible, defeat the constitutional government, and yet create a body of the fashion of the old charter assembly, which could call a Convention and remodel the Constitution. Instead of voting for a member of Council, they voted on an abstract question, whether there should be Councillors or not. The electors omitted to take the oath prescribed by the Constitution.§ Of course the anti-constitutional ticket for Assembly prevailed, and it was decided by a vote of two to one not to elect Councillors. This was clearly factious and indefensible conduct. The same course was pursued with the same result in the county of Philadelphia, whilst in other counties, Councillors as well as Assembly-men were duly elected, agreeably to the Constitution.|| It was in this excited state of things, that intelligence was received of the British invasion of New Jersey, and probable approach to the Delaware. Mere party differences were of course forgotten in the common danger. The Assembly, then chosen, met and

* *Hazard's Register*, vol. iii. p. 403.

† *Towne's Evening Post*, 16th September, 1776.

‡ *Evening Post*, 26th September. At this very moment one of the most gallant and distinguished officers in the Pennsylvania line was Colonel Moylan, a strict and conscientious Roman Catholic.

§ *Pennsylvania Packet*, 27th May, 1777.

|| *Evening Post*, 12th November.

was organized on the 28th November. It continued its disturbed and uncertain sessions till the middle of December, when it was literally dispersed by the impending danger and excitement, not to reunite till the 14th of January, 1777, from which time it continued to act with regularity and apparent deliberation. Several of the opponents of the Constitution refused to take the seats to which they had been elected, and the vacancies were filled by a new election, held under the authority of the Assembly itself.* The failure to elect an Executive Councilman for Philadelphia, was on the 14th remedied by the election of Thomas Wharton, jr., an active and patriotic Whig and constitutionalist. It was not, however, such were the difficulties interposed by what cannot but be considered an ill-advised opposition, till the 4th of March, (1777,) that the Executive Council was organized by the election of Mr. Wharton as President, and George Bryan as Vice-President. Thus, at last, the new government became complete.

During the summer of 1777, the popular discussion of the new Constitution continued with scarcely less acrimony than before. It occupied the attention of the Assembly, which body was much divided in opinion, though a large majority was resolute in sustaining the new form of government. In the fall of 1777, the approach of the enemy again put an end to these disputes, generally, it must be observed, raging with most asperity in the City and County of Philadelphia, and other more engrossing matters fully occupied the time and attention of the new Assembly, which met at Lancaster in November of that year. In all these violent divisions of sentiment, Mr. Reed happily for himself had no part.

On the return of the Americans to Philadelphia in June, 1778, a very peculiar but not unnatural state of feeling was produced, into which on one side or the other the adversary sentiment as to the Constitution soon insinuated itself. Philadelphia, though the colonial metropolis, was at that time of no great extent or population. Village-like in its character, there were very well-defined ranks of society, such

* *Journals of Assembly*, p. 110.

as in a village are apt to be offensively distinct. These social distinctions had been rather rudely trampled down in the first disturbance of the Revolution, and the conduct of those connected with the proprietary or other pseudo-aristocratic connexions, had not been such as to conciliate popular regard.* The discipline of the popular committees had no

* Mrs. Washington on one occasion said, that on a visit to Philadelphia on her way to camp, none or but few of the ladies of the City called on her, so prevalent was the disaffection. I am tempted here to quote a passage from Christopher Marshall's Diary of 1775, curiously illustrative of the state of popular feeling at the outbreak of the war, as well as of the decorous discretion which marked the conduct of the wife of Washington.

"November 21st, 1775.—In company with Sampson Levy, Thomas Combs, and my son Benjamin, we viewed the inside of the new prison; thence into Chestnut Street, to view the arrival of Lady Washington, who was on her journey to Cambridge, to her husband. She was escorted into the City from Schuylkill Ferry, by the Colonel and other officers, and light infantry, of the Second Battalion, and the company of Light Horse, &c.

"24th.—After dinner, as I had heard some threats thrown out, that if the ball assembled this night, as it was proposed, they presumed that the New Tavern would cut but a poor figure to-morrow morning, these fears of some commotion's being made that would be very disagreeable at this melancholy time, in disturbing the peace of the City, I concluded, if possible, to prevent, in order to which, I went to Col. Hancock's lodgings, and finding he was not come from Congress, and the time grew short, being three o'clock, I walked up to the State House, in expectation of meeting him. That failing, I requested the door-keeper to call Samuel Adams, which he accordingly did, and he came. I then informed him of the account received of a ball, that was to be held this evening, and where, and that Mrs. Washington and Col. Hancock's wife were to be present, and as such meetings appeared to be contrary to the Eighth Resolve of Congress, I therefore requested he would give my respects to Col. Hancock, desire him to wait on Lady Washington to request her not to attend or go this evening. This he promised. Thence I went and met the Committee at the Philosophical Hall, which was large and respectable, being called together for this only purpose to consider the propriety of this meeting or ball's being held this evening in this city, at the New Tavern, where, after due and mature consideration, it was then concluded, there being but one dissenting voice, (Sharp Delany,) that there should be no such meeting held, not only this evening, but in future, while these troublesome times continued, and a Committee was appointed, immediately to go to inform the directors of this meeting not to proceed any further in this affair, and also to wait upon Lady Washington, expressing this Committee's great regard and affection to her, requesting her to accept of their grateful acknowledgment and respect, due to her on account of her near connexion with our worthy and brave General now exposed in the field of battle in defence of our rights and liberties, and request and desire her not to grace that company, to which, we are informed, she has an

doubt been severe. They had subjected not only the loyal but the quiet and temporising inhabitants to harsh processes. The Friends in particular, had little allowance made for their amiable principles of impracticable peacefulness. "The Committee of Sufferings" had often implored mercy in vain. Many of this society, its leading and most eminent members, together with a number of influential citizens of other modes of thinking, had on the approach of the enemy been arrested and sent into distant exile in Virginia. To all who sympathized with these wrongs, the arrival of the British army and the occupation of Philadelphia were far from unwelcome. This was their day of consolation. But when the Americans repossessed themselves of the City, new exasperation occurred. The patriot citizens who had been driven from their homes, and who, in the camp at Valley Forge, or in some accidental place of refuge, had been enduring great sufferings and privations, who had seen the neighbouring country literally laid waste with fire and sword,* felt all their former antipathies to the loyal party

invitation this evening, &c. &c. Came home near six. After I drank coffee, I went down to Samuel Adams's lodgings, where was Col. Dyer. Spent some time pleasantly, until Col. Harrison came to rebuke Samuel Adams for using his influence for the stopping of this entertainment, which he declared was legal, just and laudable. Many arguments were used by all present to convince him of the impropriety at this time, but all to no effect; so, as he came out of humour, he so returned, to appearance.

"*November 25th.*—At half past eleven, went to the Committee Room at the Coffee House; came away near two. At this time, Major Bayard, one of the four gentlemen appointed to wait on Lady Washington, reported that they had acted agreeably to directions, that the lady received them with great politeness, thanked the Committee for their kind care and regard in giving such timely notice, requesting her best compliments to be returned to them for their care and regard, and to assure them that their sentiments on this occasion, were perfectly agreeable unto her own.

"*November 27th.*—About ten, Lady Washington, attended by the troop of horse, two companies of light infantry, &c. &c., left this City, on her journey to the camp, at Cambridge."

* Mr. Boudinot in a letter to President Wharton from camp, November 24th, 1777, says: "The enemy are burning and destroying all the houses round the City, as Peel Hall, Mrs. Master's place, John Dickenson's, &c. Two of your acquaintances were here yesterday from the City, who gave the most shocking accounts of their proceedings. They say that it is expected every day when Kensington will be burned. They also threaten Frankford. I doubt not their

revive with new intensity. Their hatred to a disaffected American was even more fierce than to an English enemy. On the other hand, the conduct of the loyalists and their friends was imprudent in the extreme. They assumed the air of injured and oppressed men, and very soon and artfully identifying themselves with the Anti-Constitutional party, took an attitude of defiance to the constituted authorities.

Unfortunately for the cause of good order, Arnold was the individual selected to take command in Philadelphia on its recapture. His influence, never that of a peace-maker, seems to have been at once exercised to stimulate existing animosities. He involved himself at once in all sorts of illegitimate speculations.* Fond of display and ostentatious indulgence, he gratified his tastes by uniting himself with the leading families of the City, in rank, wealth, and fashion, and with those who were almost without exception connected by sympathy with the Royal cause. The festival, brilliant at least for those days, of the Meschianza, given by the British officers at Philadelphia, had not been without its influence, and the lady whom Arnold soon after courted and married, had been a bright beauty of that gay scene.† The favour shown by the American

good will to this humane undertaking. We are informed that the injury wantonly done to the City and around it amounts to more than half a million of money.”—*MS. Letter.*

* As early as the 23d of June, four days after he took command, Arnold entered into a very suspicious partnership, by which goods not wanted for the public, were to be purchased with the public money, and sold for the benefit of himself and his partners. The evidence of this nefarious transaction, the first of a series of iniquities, is yet extant.

† In August, 1779, Governor Livingston, a true and thorough man of New Jersey, wrote to his daughter at Philadelphia: “The complaisance with which we treat the British prisoners, considering how they treat us when in captivity, of which you justly complain, is what the Congress can never answer to their constituents, however palliated with the specious name of humanity. It is thus that we shall be at last humanised out of our liberties. Their country, their honours, the spirits of those myriads who have fallen a sacrifice to the severity of their treatment by the enemy, and their own solemn oath, call upon that august assembly to retaliate without further procrastination. I know there are a number of flirts in Philadelphia, equally famed for their want of modesty as their want of patriotism, who will triumph in our over-complaisance to the red coat prisoners lately arrived in that metropolis. I hope none of my connexions will imitate them in the dress

General to the inveterate loyalists, and the new combinations in politics which they were dexterous enough to form, were calculated to increase this insolent confidence, and led necessarily to the vigorous measures of chastisement to which the authorities were compelled to resort, and which will presently be referred to.

In the middle of August, 1778, Mr. Reed again went to Head-Quarters, then at White Plains, as one of a Committee of Congress, under a Resolution of the 10th of that month, appointed to aid the Commander-in-chief in effecting a new arrangement of the army. He remained at camp probably during all the months of August and September.* On the 7th of September, as Chairman of this Committee, he addressed the

of their heads, or the still more Tory feelings of their hearts.—*Sedgwick's Livingston*, 337.

"I am convinced," Washington wrote, "that more mischief has been done by the British officers who have been prisoners, than by any other set of people; during their captivity they have made in the country they have confirmed the disaffected, converted many ignorant people, and frightened the lukewarm and timid, by their stories of the power of Britain. I hope a general exchange is not far off by which means we shall get rid of all that set of people; and I am convinced that we had better, in future, send all officers in upon parole than keep them among us."

* During this period, the disastrous expedition to Rhode Island under Sullivan was attempted, in relation to which I am tempted to copy the following letter from General Greene to Mr. Pettit.

Camp, August 22, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Your two long letters came to hand last night. I was on board the French fleet. I have only time to tell you the devil has got into the fleet. They are about to desert us and go round to Boston. The garrison would be all our own in a few days if the fleet and French forces would only co-operate with us. But alas, they will not. They have got a little shattered in the late storm, and apprehension of a junction of Byron and Howe's fleets may prove their ruin; they are therefore determined to quit us immediately. I am afraid our expedition is now at an end, like all the former attempts. It will terminate with disgrace, because unsuccessful. Never was I in a more perplexing situation. To evacuate the Island is death; to stay may be ruin.

The express is waiting at the door, and I am obliged to defer giving you the particulars till a more favourable opportunity, and to renew my promise of writing more fully in my next.

following letter to the President of Congress on the subject of the separate command of cavalry which Washington had offered to him in '77, and which was now vacant.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Camp at White Plains, Sept. 7, 1778.

SIR,

Your Committee beg leave to solicit your attention to the situation of your cavalry while destitute of a general officer. Each Regiment having its own Colonel, and he only attending to the concerns of his particular regiment, a general confusion and neglect must take place, for want of an authority which can extend its influence to the whole, and correct those abuses, and that profusion of expense which hitherto has been incurred by this corps, nor do we conceive it possible for the public to derive the same service from them in their present state that it would do if under the general direction of an active and intelligent officer. The present Colonels, though men of merit, are upon such terms with each other, that it is probable the appointment of either would occasion the loss of the other three; there may also be other reasons to determine another choice, and we can think of no person so proper or so likely to be acceptable to the present officers as General Cadwalader. At least it is the wish of the Committee that the experiment may be made, the other gentleman recommended by the General having turned his views to civil life, and wholly declining this service now. If the Committee are so happy as to meet the opinion of Congress with respect to General Cadwalader's appointment, they beg leave to suggest the expediency of immediately making the choice, and leaving it to him to accept or refuse; as they have reason to fear a previous consultation will be more likely to defeat than advance their views.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and regard,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

JOSEPH REED,
Chairman.*

My best respects to General Reed if at camp, and to Colonel Cox in your next letter. Where is poor Blodget?

Yours affectionately,

N. GREENE.

Charles Pettit, Esq., White Plains.

* Journals of Congress, 1778, p. 529, 554. See also *Sparks' Washington*, vii. pp. 230-1.

On the reading of this recommendation in Congress, it was at once complied with, and General Cadwalader elected. He however declined the appointment on the ground that, in his opinion, very erroneous as it proved to be, the war was near a close.

Whilst at Camp, Mr. Reed was very unexpectedly called to the performance of a professional duty, which involved him necessarily in much of the bitter animosity which have been described as existing in Philadelphia. The executive authority of Pennsylvania had deemed it their duty to bring to justice a number of individuals who had been most notorious and active in their disaffection and adherence to the enemy. They were, in several instances, men of character and relatively high station in life. On the 17th of August, the Assembly seconding cordially the action of the Vice-President and Council, resolved to retain and employ counsel to assist the Attorney-General in the prosecution of public offenders.

On the 21st of August, the Vice-President informed Mr. Reed that he had been selected for this duty, in a letter addressed to him at Head-Quarters.

"The Council," said the letter, "are unanimously of opinion with the Attorney-General, that you can render the State more essential service in the important trials now coming on, than any other person within their knowledge; and therefore they now apply to you for your assistance, which they have no doubt that your principles and inclination will conspire to induce you to give. They propose to allow you £2000 for the coming year for this service. You will easily see that authority here, in view the important trials of traitors which will occupy the Court during the next winter."*

* The Attorney-General was Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, who had been appointed on the organization of the Judiciary under the new government, in July, 1777. Until that time he had lived and practised law at Trenton in New Jersey, and was a member from that state in the Continental Congress. It may be noted as a curious illustration of the prevalent opposition in Philadelphia to the new Constitution, that it was found necessary to appoint strangers to so responsible posts as those of Attorney-General and Chief Justice. Mr. Sergeant had been an active patriot in the early revolutionary movements in New Jersey. In Pennsylvania, he was an ardent Constitutionalist, and rose to great eminence at the bar.

The duty thus delegated, though unsought and unexpected, was faithfully discharged. Among the persons implicated in these charges, were two whose trial and fate excited much interest, and natural though most misdirected sympathy. These were Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts, who were tried in October, 1778, and on conviction, were executed. Much obloquy has been cast on those who, either professionally or in the discharge of other official duty, are supposed to have contributed to this result. But looking back through nearly seventy years, with due allowance for errors of judgment and conduct in times of high excitement, it is impossible to question that these men were properly brought to justice, fairly tried, and justly condemned. It is not unimportant to bestow a word or two on this subject, these being, with one exception, the only instances in the history of revolutionary Pennsylvania, where the scaffold was resorted to by the civil authorities, and the extreme process of the law applied: instances too, in relation to which, as has been said, much misdirected sympathy—a remnant of which perhaps endures to this day—was awakened.

The other instance referred to was that of Molesworth, executed as a spy in 1777. It is rather a curious incident of local history, that has never, as I am aware, been in print, and for the details of which I am indebted to the original papers now at Harrisburg. It illustrates the fidelity of our revolutionary men in humble life. James Molesworth was an Englishman, born at Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, who, coming to this country before the Revolution, was employed as a clerk in the Mayor's office at Philadelphia. Being thrown out of employment, he wandered through New Jersey, attempting, according to his own account, some small mercantile adventure, and in the spring of 1777 reached New York, where the British commanders were planning their southern campaign. Mr. Galloway, who in the preceding winter had gone over to the enemy, and who, with the restless and morbid activity for

He died of the yellow fever in 1793, having remained in Philadelphia to render assistance during that period of pestilence. He was the father of Hon. John Sergeant of Philadelphia, and of Thomas Sergeant, lately one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

which he seemed always to be distinguished, was their busy counsellor, aiding them with local information relating especially to the approach to Philadelphia. He, it appears, fell in with Molesworth, and took him at once to the British Admiral. Lord Howe was then planning an expedition to the Delaware. Molesworth in his confession said that a lieutenancy in the army was offered him, on condition of his rendering the service which Galloway and Lord Howe required of him. He agreed to go to Philadelphia, and secure the services of several pilots acquainted with the navigation and defences of the Delaware, who were to return with him to New York. "Lord Howe," says he, "instructed me to get one or two pilots, and particularly a chevaux de frise pilot, to bring the vessels up the Delaware Bay. I was to return to New York as fast as I could. I was asked many questions about the Fort and the galleys. Lord Howe authorized me to stand on no cost, but did not fix any sum."*

Molesworth at once set out on his perilous errand, and taking a circuitous route by Basken Ridge and Brunswick, reached Philadelphia safely. This was soon after the battle of Princeton, when the British army was manœuvring in the upper part of New Jersey, and while apprehensions of new offensive movements southward were in full life. Philadelphia and her committee of patriot vigilance had too recently escaped danger to abate their watchfulness. On reaching the city, Molesworth took retired lodgings, and very soon put himself in communication with two men of the name of Shepard and Thomas, and two women, Abigail McKay and Sarah O'Brien, to whom he disclosed parts of his plan, and his desire to engage the pilots. The women, by their own admission, seem to have had no scruple in aiding him. Whether Molesworth was alone in the mission is not very clear. In his dying confession, he made no distinct allusion to a companion at this time, though he admitted that on previous occasions he had one of the name of Watson, alias Caton. The women, McKay and O'Brien, when examined by the Board of War, stated that they had frequently seen with

* This is an extract from Molesworth's examination, 27 March, 1777, attested by Richard Peters, Secretary of the Board of War.

Molesworth a large man with black hair and a blanket coat, who was described to them as a British naval officer. No other trace appears of such an agency.

Three pilots were sent for, who, after being, as was thought sufficiently tampered with by the women, had interviews successively with Molesworth. They were John Eldridge, Andrew Higgins, and John Snider. They were described as persons who could be trusted, and Molesworth at once and without much reserve, unfolded his scheme. He told them the vessel which they were expected to pilot was the *Eagle*, and that the fleet would at once follow, hoping to arrive in the Delaware about the 10th of April,—that arrangements had been made among the disaffected in the City, and among the garrison, on the arrival of the fleet, to have the guns at the Fort secretly spiked, and the various bridges at the ferries around the town, cut away. He then told them that if they agreed to the proposals, they must be ready to leave the City with him the same night, horses being provided for the purpose.

He promised large rewards to be paid on reaching New York, and gave in hand to one of them fifty pounds, which an unknown confederate in the neighbourhood supplied. The scene of this interview was at a house near the corner of Front and Union Streets. The Pilots do not seem to have hesitated for a moment, but, concealing their intentions from Molesworth, promptly revealed the whole matter to the City Guard, who, about 10 o'clock at night, arrested Molesworth at his lodgings.

His male confederates, whoever they were, escaped. The women were seized and imprisoned in the City Gaol. Molesworth was tried, confessed his guilt, and was soon after executed at Philadelphia. His confession, attested by Colonels Walter Stewart and Thomas Proctor, is now before me. It was a case of dark and conceded crime, fully deserving the extreme penalty of the law. Had Molesworth been spared, the execution of André would have been unpardonable butchery.

Yet, as in the cases presently to be referred to, there were those who persuaded themselves that this man, who would have led an exasperated enemy to our homes, and whose errand was to make smooth the path of the mercenary invader, was a mar-

tyr. He received some transient honours of martyrdom, for whilst the British were in possession of Philadelphia his remains were removed from the Potter's Field, to one of the burial grounds of the City. On the return of the Americans, popular resentment was very naturally aroused against those who had shared in this perverse testimonial to the memory of Molesworth, and they were compelled to publish apologies for their conduct, which will be found in the newspapers of the times.

It is easy at this distance of time, and indulging in tranquil speculations on the past, to censure these excesses of popular resentment; but to form a candid judgment, some effort should be made to recall the actual scenes of those days—the stimulants of honest indignation, the sight of ruin and devastation, which Philadelphia presented to the eyes of her long-exiled citizens—the fresh trail of the invaders, mercenary soldiers, sent here to earn their bloody wages. These all must be realized before fair judgment can be formed. The correspondence and diaries of the time give some, though faint glimpses of the actual state of things when the enemy retired.

“On the 25th of June,” says Marshall, in his Journal, “took a long walk by myself to our once rural, beautiful place near the barracks. Now nothing but wanton desolation and destruction, that struck me with horror and detestation of the promoters and executors of these horrid deeds. My mind was so pained, that I returned to the City.” “On the 26th,” he continues, “engaged in viewing some of our and others’ houses, with wonder and amazement on the scenes of malice and wanton cruelty, yet my late dwelling-house, not so bad as many others; yet grief seized me in beholding the ruins, viz. : houses quite demolished, of which ours, near the Bettering House, was quite gone, with the brick walls, chimneys, the doors, cases, windows and roofs either destroyed or carried away entirely, &c.”*

The course of justice in the Treason Trials of 1778, was, so far as we have now materials of judgment, dignified and mer-

* I make this extract from the MS. Journal in the hands of Mr. Duane. It is to be hoped that the whole Diary, extending from January, 1774, to September, 1781, will, at some, not distant day, be published.

ciful. The cases of Carlisle and Roberts did not stand alone. Though the only persons punished, they were not the only ones brought to trial. At the fall Sessions of the Supreme Court, in Philadelphia County alone, there appear to have been forty-five bills for treason sent to the Grand Jury. Of these, twelve were ignored. All the others, twenty-three in number, were tried, and, in every instance, except those of Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts, the parties were acquitted.

The proof against these individuals was conclusive. That against Carlisle has been preserved in the notes of the Chief Justice (M'Kean), before whom the cause was tried.* It established, beyond all question, that, under a commission from Sir William Howe, he kept one of the gates of the town, and as one clothed with full authority, gave passes to such as were allowed to go beyond the lines. His whole conduct and deportment was offensive in the extreme, and far beyond the line where technical treason begins. In the case of Roberts, it was shown that he took an active part for the Royal cause, supplying provisions, enlisting men, and thus rendering himself liable to the application of the laws which had been enacted to prevent just such offenders. On the examination of Mr. Galloway before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1779, he gave testimony in relation to these two men, which can leave no doubt of the actual relation at least of one of them to the British army. It is as follows:—

“Question by Lord Howe. Did you not advise every one of your friends, who you thought could remain in safety with the rebels, to stay at Philadelphia, and were not the persons who followed your advice afterwards put to death?

“Answer. There was not a person who had taken an active part but I advised to come away with the British army. As to Roberts and Carlisle, the persons alluded to, the first never consulted me. *Carlisle I positively advised to leave the city, because I knew he would not be safe.*”

The condemnation of these men, though justified by every principle of law and public justice, produced great excitement

* These notes are among the papers of the Executive Council at Harrisburg. Copies are in the possession of the author. The cases are reported in 1 *Dallas*, 39, 42.

in Philadelphia. Every effort was made to save them. Memorials without stint were addressed to the Executive Council. Citizens of all ranks seemed to be moved to sympathy with them now that they were about to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Both jurors and judges seemed so far to incline to mercy as to desire a delay of the execution till the meeting of the Assembly. Mr. Reed, not then in Council, or in any way connected with the Government, wrote to the same effect to the Vice-President.* It was, however, all in vain. Satisfied that they had had a fair trial, and full chance of exculpation, and that, in the existing state of feeling towards the American cause, an example was necessary, the Vice-President, George Bryan, and the Council, refused to interfere, and under their warrant, on the 4th of November, 1778, both prisoners were executed on the commons near Philadelphia.†

* The grossest perversion of Mr. Reed's conduct is to be found in the *Travels of Brissot de Warville*, (Tome ii. 243.) Brissot's sympathies seem to have been actively aroused for these men. He espoused earnestly the opinions in favour of abolishing capital punishment, and indulged in all the sentimentalism of exaggerated French philanthropy. Within a few years, as a Girondin member of the National Convention, he voted for the death of the King, and for most of the extremities which his wrong-headed faction perpetrated, perishing himself on the scaffold. Speaking of Carlisle and Roberts, he says: "Parmi ces derniers (le juré) deux seulement declarerent Carlisle et Roberts coupables. Les dix autres vouloient les discharger de l'accusation. Les deux ne parvinrent à rameuer les autres à leur avis, qu'en promettant qu'on leur accorderoit leur pardon et en faisant sentir la nécessité d'un exemple apparent. En conséquence ou presenta un requête au Conseil Executif qui convint de l'accorder: A cet epoque Reed fut élu Président. C'etoit le plus cruel ennemi des Quakers; il se hata d'accepter la place pour prevenir le pardon, et il reussit: les deux infortunés furent executés. Reed etoit un homme ambitieux; il avoit l'ame de Cromwell. Il se montra fervent republicain parce qu'il esperoit se saisir un jour du pouvoir. On m'a assuré qu'il mourut rongé de remords pour avoir ordonné cette execution."—(*Edition de Paris*, 1791.) The simple answer to all this stuff is, that Carlisle and Roberts were hanged on 4th November, and Mr. Reed was not elected President till the 1st December, 1778.

† In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of November 7, 1778, is the sentence of death, as pronounced on Roberts by Chief Justice McKean. It is as follows: "John Roberts, you have been indicted, and after a very long, a very fair and impartial trial, been convicted of high treason. You have had all the indulgence and advantage that the law would allow you; you have had a copy of your indictment and of the panel of the jury; a sufficient time for your defence and challenges.

"The jury who have found you guilty were such as may be justly said that you

The annual elections had taken place in the month of October, when a decisive majority of friends of the constitution

yourself approved of, for though the law gives you a liberty to challenge thirty-five, you have challenged but thirty-three, so you allowed the rest to be an indifferent Jury to pass between the state and you, upon your life or death. Your Counsel have moved for a new trial, and the Court have disallowed that motion, being fully satisfied you have been convicted upon legal and clear evidence; their next step is to proceed to judgment, and sorry I am that it falls to my lot to pronounce the dreadful sentence, but I must discharge my duty to my country.

"Treason is a crime of the most dangerous and fatal consequence to society; it is of a most malignant nature; it is of a criminal colour, and of a scarlet dye. Maliciously to deprive one man of life merits the punishment of death, and blood for blood is a just restitution. What punishment, then, must he deserve, who joins the enemies of his country, and endeavours the total destruction of the lives, liberties, and property of all his fellow-citizens? who wilfully aids and assists in so impious a cause, a cause which has been complicated with the horrid and crying sin of murdering thousands who were not only innocent but meritorious; and aggravated by burning some of them alive, and starving others to death. It is in vain to plead, that you have not personally acted in this wicked business; for all who countenance and assist are partakers in the guilt. Your junction gave encouragement to the invaders of your country; your example occasioned the defection of others; and you exerted yourself in forwarding their arbitrary designs. It is in vain to plead, that you fled to the enemy for protection against some of your neighbours, who threatened your life, because they thought you a Tory; for you might have applied for, and obtained protection from the civil magistrate, or from the army of your country. It is in vain to plead, that you intended to relieve some friends who were ordered under a guard to Virginia, for government was then doing a necessary and usual act in such cases for its preservation; the restraining men whose going at large was thought dangerous to the community, and putting them for a time under a general confinement. Your offering to put yourself at the head of a troop of horse of the enemy, and to effect this rescue at the risk of your life, was a strange piece of conduct in one who pretended that he was conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms in any case. Alas! happy had it been for you had you fallen under the like indulgent restraint, and been also sent to Virginia.

"It is true, and I mention it with pleasure, that your interest with the Commander-in-chief of the British army was frequently employed in acts of humanity, charity, and benevolence. This must afford you some comfort, and your friends some consolation; but a good General would have done the same things to a vanquished enemy; and they can by no means compensate for treason.

"You will probably have but a short time to live. Before you launch into eternity, it behooves you to improve the time that may be allowed you in this world: it behooves you most seriously to reflect upon your past conduct; to repent of your evil deeds, to be incessant in prayers to the great and merciful God to forgive your manifold transgressions and sins, to teach you to rely upon the merit and passion of a dear Redeemer, and thereby to avoid those regions of sorrow, those

were chosen in both branches of the Government. General Reed was elected to both Assembly and Council, the former—which he declined—for the city, the latter for the county of Philadelphia; and on the 1st of December, 1778, the Assembly having been organized a few weeks sooner, he was elected by an unanimous vote PRESIDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

His own views on accepting this post, as well as what he thought of the political condition of the State, are fully stated in a confidential letter to General Greene, dated November 5th, 1778.

“The President’s chair was in my offer all last summer, but neither ambition nor interest inclined me to accept it; but I now plainly see there is a settled fixed system to subvert the Whig interest, and that in a very little time the very name will be reproachful, if there are not very spirited exertions. You have undoubtedly heard into what line General Arnold has thrown himself. If things proceed in the same train much longer, I would advise every Continental officer to leave his uniform at the last stage, and procure a scarlet coat, as the only mode of insuring respect and notice. The Whigs are not depressed though the Tories are unhumbled, and I still hope and believe, if our own friends will not take part against us, we shall rise superior to all their efforts. — — — General Lee is paying his court, and I believe successfully, to the same

doleful shades where peace and rest can never dwell; where even hope cannot enter. It behooves you to seek the conversation, advice and prayers of pious and good men; to be importunate at the Throne of Grace, and to learn the way that leadeth to happiness. May you, reflecting upon these things, and pursuing the will of the great Father of light and life, be received into company and society of angels and archangels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and may you be qualified to enter into the joys of Heaven, joys unspeakable, and full of glory.

“The Legislature of this Commonwealth, agreeably to the lenity evinced by all their laws, have thought proper to direct that persons guilty of high treason should be dealt with, and proceeded against, as in other capital cases: and therefore the solemn judgment in treason, heretofore prescribed by the laws of Pennsylvania, is now done away.

“The judgment of the Court therefore is,

“You shall be taken back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there to be hanged by the neck until dead.

“May God be merciful unto your soul.”

adverse interest, at least if we may judge from personal civilities and attention. We are utterly out. After labouring to convince me he had great merit at Monmouth, and I to convince him that he had behaved very ill, which I knew from his own mouth and my own observation, we have parted mutually unconvinced. I only added one piece of advice to him, to forbear any reflections on the Commander-in-chief, of whom, for the first time, I have heard slander on his private character, viz., great cruelty to his slaves in Virginia, and immorality of life, though they acknowledge it is so very secret that it is difficult to detect it. To me, who have had so good opportunities to know the purity of the latter, and equally believing the falsehood of the former, from the known excellence of his disposition, it appears so nearly bordering on frenzy, that I can pity the wretches rather than despise them. However, they help to make up the party. New characters are emerging from security, like insects after a storm. Treason, disaffection to the interests of America, and even assistance to the British interest, is called openly only error of judgment, which candour and liberality of sentiment will overlook. These are ——— sentiments, and that all distraction should be laid aside under a perfect oblivion for past offences, if such practices deserve the name of offences. Out of the great number of pilots, guides, kidnappers, and other assistants of the British army, two of the most notorious were convicted, but it would astonish you to observe the weight of interest excited to pardon them, and virtually every other, for none could be more guilty—but these being rich and powerful, we could not for shame have made an example of a poor rogue after forgiving the rich. The same gentlemen publicly pronounced their execution a horrid barbarity, infamous carnage, &c. So much and so soon do party views change the minds of men, and of so little consequence do they estimate the lives and safety of officers and soldiers, who are so often destroyed by these treacherous practices, when the consideration of power and ambition intervene.

“There is a considerable majority of real Whigs in the House—a number of new converts to the Independence of

America—and a few real inveterate, but concealed Tories. The Council, who are also the Representatives of the people, are Whigs to a man; the only disadvantage that the Whigs have is the want of speakers.

“I am yet at a loss to say what will be the result of our present measures. I am in the Council, and shall now accept the Chair, if offered to me, with a tolerable salary, because I see plainly that unless I make this sacrifice of my interest and care, the Whig interest must be materially injured. Will you not think it extraordinary that General Arnold made a public entertainment the night before last, of which not only common Tory ladies, but the wives and daughters of persons proscribed by the State, and now with the enemy at New York, formed a very considerable number. The fact is literally true.”

On the 15th of December, he wrote to Mr. Ingersoll of Connecticut, an ancient and valued friend.

“I received your favour of the 3d inst. upon your son's safe return to his family and country. I wish this event had happened a few weeks sooner, as it would have been in my power to have rendered him very essential and solid services. I do not know whether the newspapers convey to you our State appointments, but at the last election, I was unanimously elected to the Presidency of the State. A station equally unlooked for and undesired by me, but the unhappy division of our State upon matters of government, had thrown us into such disorder, that the step appeared necessary to cement the coalition of parties, which had taken place just before. This remove has left a vacancy here, which I had it much at heart to fill with some gentleman, who would consult the interest of my clients, and upon whom also I could depend for that assistance, which a young man of parts could give to one in my station. Our lawyers here, of any considerable abilities, are all, as I may say, in one interest, and that not the popular one. The conduct of your son abroad, and the testimonials which I have no doubt he has brought from our friends in Europe, will, I am persuaded, enable me to introduce him here to advantage, and I am clearly of opinion that then it will depend upon himself entirely, to carve out his own fortune. I may truly say,

in the Scripture language, that the harvest is great and the labourers are few. The sooner, therefore, he can come, the better; and he will excuse my hinting to him that, as Mr. Deane's affairs and our other foreign concerns, having become perhaps too much the subject of speculation and party, he will do well to avoid disclosing his sentiments on these matters, either with you or here, but to such only as he can truly confide in. But his prudence, which knowledge of the world would not lessen, must make any caution of this kind to him unnecessary. I shall, therefore, conclude, with my good wishes for your health and happiness, and to assure you that your son will receive every assistance and advantage from me which his merit and my very sincere esteem for him will justly claim, and to give you my clear opinion, that there never was a more favourable opportunity, in the city and state, for him to enter upon the public stage to advantage.*

To his numerous friends throughout the country, especially to those in the Continental service, his election as President gave extreme pleasure. Greene, writing from Head-Quarters to a friend, (Mr. Pettit,) on 7th December, said:

"Nothing can give me greater pleasure than General Reed's appointment as President; and what serves to heighten the pleasure is every body expressing their approbation. I have a long letter of his to answer, which I shall embrace the first opportunity to perform, and to congratulate him on his appointment."

On the 12th of December, Mr. Reed received from the Commander-in-chief a hearty congratulation on his accession to office. It is a letter in other respects full of interest, and remarkable as one of the few in which the writer indulged in anything approaching to pleasantry.

* The son to whom this letter refers, was Jared Ingersoll, afterwards a very eminent lawyer in Philadelphia. He was a member of Congress, of the Convention to form the Federal Constitution, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and President Judge of the District Court. He died at Philadelphia in 1822. His sons are the Hon. C. J. Ingersoll and Hon. J. R. Ingersoll, both for many years members of the Congress of the United States.

WASHINGTON TO REED.

Middle Brook, Dec. 12, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Your favour of the 7th inst., by Mr. Laurens, came to my hands a day or two ago, previous to which I should have done myself the pleasure of congratulating you (which I now do very sincerely) on your late election to the government of Pennsylvania, had not Sir Henry's late extra manœuvre up the North River kept me upon the march and countermarch from the 5th till yesterday. When I arrived at these, my quarters for the winter, it employed too much of my attention to investigate his designs, to indulge in more agreeable amusements.

What did or could prompt the Knight to this expedition, is beyond the reach of my conception, considering the unseasonableness of it. Three things only appeared to me probable: a rescue of the Convention troops, a stroke at the rear of our army, or a surprise of the posts in the Highlands. The two first I had seen perfectly out of his reach before I left the North River; and not conceiving that he could miss it so much in point of intelligence as to mistime matters so egregiously, (if either of the other two was his object,) it followed, of consequence, that the last must be his aim; and though I had left him, as I thought, in a state of security, and in the hands of a good officer—McDougall, I could not help being uneasy lest some disaster might befall them. I posted back from Elizabethtown on the morning of the 5th, and got within twelve or fifteen miles of King's Ferry, when I was met by an express informing me that the enemy had landed at that place, set fire to two small log'd houses, destroyed nine barrels of spoiled herrings, and had set sail for New York.

Thus ended this notable expedition, which was conducted (in the preparation) with so much secrecy, that all the flag-boats to and from the city were stopped, and not a mouse permitted to creep within their lines. The only bad consequence we have felt from it, (and, as the weather has turned out, not a trifling one,) is that it has delayed the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania troops four days in hutting, and has occasioned them to march through snow and bad roads to come at their ground, instead of having sunshine and good ones, which was the case before the storm on Thursday last.

It gives me very sincere pleasure to find that there is likely to be a coalition of the Whigs in your state, (a few only excepted,) and that the Assembly of it are so well disposed to second your endeavours in bringing those murderers of our cause—the monopolizers, forestallers, and engrossers to condign punishment. It is much to be lamented that each state, long ere this, has not hunted them down as the pests of society, and the greatest enemies we have to the happiness of America. I would to God that one of the most atrocious in each state was hung in gibbets upon a gallows five times as

high as the one prepared by Haman. No punishment, in my opinion, is too great for the man who can "build his greatness upon his country's ruin."

General Lee's publication in Dunlap's Gazette of the 3d inst., (and I have seen no other,) puts me in a disagreeable situation. I have neither leisure nor inclination to enter the lists with him in a newspaper: and so far as his production points to personality, I can and do from my inmost soul despise it; but when he has most barefacedly misrepresented facts in some places, and thrown out insinuations in others that have not the smallest foundation in truth, not to attempt a refutation is a tacit acknowledgment of the justice of his assertions; for though there are thousands who know how unsupported his piece is, there are yet tens of thousands that know nothing of the matter, and will be led naturally to conclude that bold and confident assertions, uncontradicted, must be founded in truth.

It became a part of General Lee's plan, from the moment of his arrest, (though it was an event solicited by himself,) to have the world believe that he was a persecuted man, and that party was at the bottom of it. But however convenient for his purpose to establish this doctrine, I defy him or his most zealous partisans to adduce a simple instance in proof of it, unless bringing him to trial at his own request is considered in this light. I can do more; I will defy any man out of my own family to say that I have ever mentioned his name after his trial commenced, if it was to be avoided; and when it was not, if I have not studiously declined expressing any sentiment of him or his behaviour. How far this conduct accords with his, let his own breast decide. If he conceives that I was opposed to him because he found himself disposed to enter into a party against me—if he thought I stood in his road to preferment, and therefore that it was convenient to lessen me in the esteem of my countrymen, in order to pave the way for his own advancement—I have only to observe, that as I never entertained any jealousy of, or apprehension from him, so neither did I do more than common civility and a proper respect to his rank required, to conciliate his good opinion. His temper and plans were too versatile and violent to attract my admiration: and that I have escaped the venom of his tongue and pen so long, is more to be wondered at than applauded; as it is a favour that no officer under whose immediate commands he ever served has the happiness (if happiness can be thus denominated) of boasting.

Were I to give in to private conveniency and amusement, I should not be able to resist the invitations of my friends to make Philadelphia (instead of a squeezed up room or two) my quarters for the winter. But the affairs of the army require a constant attention and presence, and circumstanced as matters are at this juncture calls for some degree of care and address to keep it from crumbling. As peace and retirement are my ultimate aim, and the most pleasing and flattering wish of my soul, everything advancing of this end contributes to my satisfaction, however difficult and inconvenient in the attainment, and will reconcile any place and all circumstances to my feelings, whilst I remain in service.

The officers of the army must be grateful for your endeavour to serve them; and those of your own state will, I trust, feel the salutary effects of your exertions in their favour. They really merit it, and resignation must cease to be wonderful, when it is a fact too notorious to be denied that officers cannot live in the army under present circumstances, whilst they see others enriching themselves by an infinity of ways. These are severe tests of public virtue, and should not in point of policy be pushed too far.

With sincere regard and affection, and with compliments to Mrs. Reed,

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient friend and servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Wayne at the same time added his hearty congratulations. "It is with sincere pleasure I join sentiment with the Committee in congratulating you on your appointment to the Presidency of a State, which, from internal divisions has been rendered feeble, and which will require the utmost exertions of that fortitude and those abilities with which you have hitherto acted in the present contest, and by the means of which we have the most flattering hopes of seeing Pennsylvania resuming that rank and consequence which she is entitled to hold.

"I am confident that the officers and troops of the line will soon experience the happy effects of having at the head of their state, a gentleman truly disposed to redress their just complaints and alleviate their distress, and whom they esteem as their common friend and guardian."

If the good wishes of friends at home, and at a distance, the hopes and expectations even of those who, with no personal good will, yet confided in Mr. Reed's admitted ability, could have made his career easy and prosperous, they certainly were not wanting. The exigencies of a station thus assumed cannot be measured by any standard of later days. The easy administration of an established government, with the slight irregularities that disturb its action in peaceful times, has no cares or responsibilities to be compared with the perplexities, the wearing anxieties of the trust which a public station in times of revolution imposes. A community distracted by party spirit, which though not inveterate had all the freshness of intense malignity; an empty treasury, dilapidated credit, a currency rapidly sinking below the level of depreciation into

utter worthlessness, and withal an armed enemy, irritated by past discomfiture, and ready at any moment again to become an invader, were elements of that heavy burden of responsibility which, at the early age of thirty-seven, Mr. Reed now assumed. How he bore it, with what success he carried it through, how, in point of fact, he sacrificed his health and life in the public cause, I hope in the following pages to be able to show. It was the proudest, though perhaps the most thankless period of his public life.

CHAPTER II.

1779.

President Reed's Administration—State of Parties and public feeling—Revision of Constitution of 1776—Constitutionalists and Republicans—Dispute with Arnold—Letter to Miss Shippen—Difficulty between Congress and Executive Council—Arnold's Defence—Discontent of Pennsylvania line—Letters of McDougal and St. Clair—Act for relief of Soldiers—Letters of the Officers—Defence of Frontiers—Indian Depredations—Post at Fort Pitt—General Potter's Letter from Penn's Valley.

THE history of the next three years of Mr. Reed's public life, as has been said, is the history of Pennsylvania, and it is very difficult to avoid the expansion of what is meant to be a merely personal memoir into a general history of the State. No one can examine the public records and private correspondence which has accumulated, without seeing how completely Mr. Reed was identified with the conduct of public affairs, and that he was in every sense the master-spirit of his party and the State government. The Executive Council had much more than ordinary executive duty to perform. The initiation of legislative measures belonged to them in common with the Assembly, and, for a time at least, most, if not all the leading measures of beneficent legislation had their origin in Council. All the messages to Assembly, and addresses to the people, all the official correspondence with the Commander-in-chief and Congress was conducted by Mr. Reed, and the executive files are crowded with state papers of all kinds; draughts of every description in his well-known handwriting. Pennsylvania, it should be remembered, at this, and at all times, had more than her share of danger and imposition. Her central position rendered her liable to sudden invasion. She had been invaded once, and might be so again. Her western and northern frontier was extensive and vulnerable, and large

detachments of her militia, often unsustained by Continental reinforcements, were necessarily kept at different advanced posts from the forks of the Susquehanna in one direction, to Fort Pitt in another. The vicinity of the Continental army rendered Pennsylvania the convenient object of constant requisition. Added to all this, is to be borne in mind the prevalence of unceasing party conflict within herself. All these can but be alluded to here in a brief introductory form to the personal history of President Reed's troubled but honourable, and in the end, successful administration.

Before commencing a necessarily imperfect sketch of this part of our local history, it is proper again to allude to the action of the Assembly, immediately before Mr. Reed's election to the Presidency, on the much-vexed question of the Constitution. In the Assembly of 1778, there was a very determined and active minority, who seemed to have been pledged, at any hazard, to a change in the form of government. On the organization of the Assembly, in November, the minority members refused to take the official oath, except with a reservation, that it was not to prevent the adoption of measures for calling a Convention to change the Constitution. This middle course was agreed to, and two kinds of oaths appear to have been taken by the members, a large majority, however, taking one without reserve or qualification.

On the 28th of November, the Assembly, with entire unanimity, agreed to a plan for taking the sense of the people on this question of a change of government. A double sort of election was to be held in March and April following, by which the people not only were to determine whether there was to be a Convention, but also who were to be delegates, and on what specified points the Convention was to deliberate. This resolution, so unanimously adopted, was probably the fruit of the coalition, or friendly agreement of party leaders, to which the correspondence has several times alluded. Unhappily, perhaps, as will presently be seen, it failed wholly of the results which were anticipated. In this plan of amicable adjustment of party differences, Mr. Reed zealously co-operated. Notwithstanding this, to its failure may be attributed much, if not all of the embarrassment and hostility to which his administration was exposed.

The rest of the history of this abortive attempt at party conciliation may be briefly told. From the time of the publication of the Resolves of the 28th of November, there appeared to be new ferment in the public mind, principally among the friends of the Constitution. The newspapers were filled with controversial essays. Memorials in great numbers were circulated for signature, remonstrating against any change, and especially against the awkward mode provided by the recent law. The Assembly met again in February 1779, and on the 27th of that month, after the discussion of a single day, such appears to have been the force of popular sentiment from without, they rescinded the Resolution of the 28th of November, by a remarkable vote of forty-seven to seven—of the seven, four being from the City of Philadelphia. The dissentient members placed on the Journals an earnest protest, embodying their objections to the Constitution, but not, it will be observed, questioning the fact on which the Constitutionals relied, that a majority of the people were in favour of the Government as it stood. Here may be said to have ended the political action in relation to the Constitution of 1776. It was the fruitful theme of newspaper discussion, but never again came before the Legislature. Its opponents generally threw themselves into the ranks of party opposition, which from that time forward became more and more acrimonious.

Mr. Reed thought his duty of opposition done, when all reasonable chances of immediate amendment had disappeared, and when a majority of the people seemed satisfied. As President of the State, it was his duty, at least while a foreign enemy was in the field, to support the Constitution.*

* EDWARD BIDDLE of Pennsylvania, a distinguished member of the anti-constitutional party, held the same opinions. In a letter to his relative, Clement Biddle, dated 6th June, 1778, he said, "Our present government is lamentably defective, and has in it the seeds of the worst of tyrannies, but to attempt by force to overturn it, would, in my judgment be wicked, as well as impolitic. The people who made it were fairly delegated for that purpose, and though they exceeded their power and acted wrong, yet it must be by persuasion and argument, not by force, that it must be altered. There is a time when the manifest errors of a people must be submitted to, in order to take the proper advantages for rectifying those errors. Such I take to be our present situation."—*MS. Letter.* Edward Biddle

Kindred, in some measure, to these party conflicts was the dispute, begun before Mr. Reed's accession to office, but continuing with great asperity afterwards, between the State authorities and General Arnold, the Continental commandant in Philadelphia. It is curious too, as an early developement of Arnold's secret and corrupt conduct, at a time when no suspicion rested, at least on his patriotism, and when he commanded a full share of that sympathy and regard which was due to his military services. At the time this conflict occurred, it was thought by many that the State authorities acted with excessive harshness to a meritorious officer. Hence, no doubt, some of the ill-timed favour which Congress showed him. It required all the energy and resolution of Mr. Reed, and his Council, to carry on to a result the searching investigation which they instituted. Now that Arnold's corrupt practices and actual treachery at the very time are known, great praise will be conceded to the Council for their firmness and steady resolution.

The difficulty began, as has been said, before Mr. Reed's Presidency, and as such things usually do, on small grounds of irritation. Instead of making the exercise of the military authority, with which he was invested for a temporary purpose, as agreeable as possible to the citizens and to the local authorities, Arnold, according to all concurrent testimony, administered his military trust with insolence. He seems to have had no other aim than to gratify his own ill-regulated passion for luxurious indulgence and display. Regardless of the well-ascertained popular sentiment in relation to the enemy and the loyalists, at a time, too, when the footsteps of the invader were fresh upon the soil, apparently intoxicated by the attentions paid him by the fashionable and aristocratic portions of society, Arnold seems to have borne himself as the military master of a conquered city, rather than as a subordinate officer in a command by no means exclusive and among friends. The local authorities, he, and those about them, treated with ill-disguised disrespect.*

was a Pennsylvanian, of whom too little is known. After very active public service as a member of the First Continental Congress, and in other distinguished trusts, he died at Baltimore, in 1778 or 1779.

*The charges against Arnold, and his answer, will be found in *Almon's Remembrancer*, 1778-9, p. 349.

The history of the investigation, first before a Committee of Congress, and afterwards before the Court Martial, convoked by General Washington, and the result are well known to every student of our history. Knowing, as we now do, that at the time when Arnold was so vehemently proclaiming his innocence, he was in secret correspondence with the enemy, and that he was steeped in deeper guilt than his worst enemies imputed to him, it is very difficult to form a fair judgment on the actual evidence, as taken by the court. Throwing this, however, as far as possible, out of view, and looking to his case as that of any other accused individual of high rank and character, it is impossible to withhold the expression of surprise, that the State authorities were able to accomplish his conviction on any one of the charges preferred.

The contest about this worthless man came very near involving the State authorities and Congress in serious conflict. Much of the correspondence between the Council and the committee of Congress was marked with great and unnecessary acrimony; and it is not easy to understand exactly on what principle the points of difficulty were at last adjusted. On the 9th of March, Mr. Paca, of Maryland, as chairman of the Congressional Committee, closed a long letter to the Council in language which plainly shows the temper of the controversy.

“We wish for your own sakes you had spared your solemn protestation. It is no proof of dignity of conduct. Vehement declarations and violent protestations are sometimes the result of passions roused in the telling of truths, or the apprehension of it. We shall certainly make no report derogatory to the rights and interests of Pennsylvania. Such a report would only disgrace ourselves. As to the honour of Council, we shall report the truth, and therefore, if you yourselves have done nothing derogatory to the honour of Council, you have nothing to fear from our report.”

The language of the State authorities was scarcely less unmeasured; yet in the end, moderate counsels seemed to have had their influence, and the inference which Arnold, in the bitterness of his resentment, drew from the Report of the Con-

gressional Committee, is not unfair, that it was in a measure the result of something like a compromise between his accusers and those whom he considered his apologists.* The action of the State authorities was at once dexterous and dignified; and though it was, at first, met in no spirit of friendliness by Congress, their prejudices were ultimately overcome, and the triumph was with the State.

On the 24th March, the Assembly received a message from Council in these words:

In Council, March 23, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

The Council request your honourable house to meet them in a Free Conference upon sundry matters touching the interest and honour of this State and the union and harmony of the United States; and that in case of concurrence you would signify where it would be convenient for you to attend it.

JOSEPH REED.

The Assembly having agreed to the conference, its action is thus described in a report made the next day to that body:—

“The Honourable the Speaker, agreeable to the directions of the House last evening, made the following report of the conference held with the Supreme Executive Council, to wit:

“That the President on the part of Council had represented, that the harmony and confidence so necessary for the common interests of this and the United States was in great danger of being interrupted by some late transactions of the honourable the Continental Congress, respecting the executive authority of the State; that several instances were enumerated; showing that reasonable complaints made to Congress on former and late occasions had been either wholly neglected, or so treated that it would have been more honourable and advantageous to the State, to have submitted silently to the injuries complained of, while other States, on complaints of a similar nature, have received speedy and ample satisfaction: that it was necessary that the true interests of the State of Pennsylvania, its importance, and services in the common cause, should be better known and understood by that honourable body than they hitherto seem to have been, as a happy means of

* In his defence before the Court Martial, p. 84, he said, “The Council of Pennsylvania had sufficient influence and address to quash any proceedings on the Report. My reputation then became, for some time longer, a sacrifice to what was deemed by Congress a necessary state policy,” &c.

removing all discontents, and promoting a perfect restoration of that union and harmony so essential to the interests and happiness of all: and that it was proposed as an advance to those desirable objects, to request the Honourable the Congress to appoint a committee to meet a joint committee of the Council and of this House in a Free Conference on the subject-matter of said representation.

“The House, taking the said report into immediate consideration,

“Resolved, That this House do approve of the proposal contained in the said report, as highly necessary and proper to effect the desirable purposes therein mentioned, at least to demonstrate our most earnest wishes to avoid every kind of controversy.”*

The Council also appointed a committee, at the head of which the President was placed. On these proceedings being communicated to Congress, the spirit of party seems instantly to have been aroused. A motion was made to refer it to a committee, which failed by a divided vote. A resolution was then proposed by Gouverneur Morris and William Henry Drayton:

“Resolved, That although Congress by no means admit the justness of the representations made against them by the said President, yet from an earnest desire to remove from the minds of the said Assembly all ground of discontent, a committee be appointed to confer with the joint committee of the said Assembly and Council; and that the said committee be directed to report the matters and things which may be adduced in support of the said representation.”†

To this, an amendment was proposed, striking out “Council” and limiting the conference to the Assembly. This was evidently an extreme and offensive movement, which failed by an equal division of States, and a large numerical majority. On the 29th of March, it was again renewed, and failed by a more decisive vote, and the Committee of Conference was appointed. On the 5th of April joint reports were made. That to the Assembly, signed by Mr. Reed and Mr. Harris, of the House, was as follows:

“The joint committee of Council and Assembly beg leave to report to their respective Houses, that, in pursuance of the resolutions of the 25th of March last, they had conferred with the Honourable Messrs. Paca, Laurens, Adams, R. H. Lee and Root, a committee of Congress on the subject-matter

* Journals of Assembly, p. 344.

† Journals, '79, page 117.

of the representation made on the said day: That the same had been fully and freely discussed: That the conferees of Congress gave this committee very ample assurances of the disposition of Congress to preserve the most perfect harmony, and remove all ground of apprehension or uneasiness from the minds of the good people of this state: That such mutual overtures of friendship and explanation have been made, in the course of the said conference, as afford a prospect of lasting harmony and confidence: and in order to cement and confirm these happy and beneficial sentiments, and to disappoint the enemies of the common cause, who take encouragement from all appearances of disunion, it will be proper to give some open proof of the happy issue of this conference: for which purpose the joint committee beg leave to propose to their respective bodies the following resolves, as tending to promote the desirable and important end aforesaid, viz.:

“Resolved, That the unanimity and harmony between the representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, and each State individually, have been, under God, the happy means of our past success, and the only sure foundation whereon to rest our future hopes of terminating the contest with Great Britain with honour and advantage.

“Resolved, That the legislative and executive authorities of this State entertain the most proper sentiments of veneration and esteem for the honourable the Continental Congress, and repose a perfect confidence in the wisdom and integrity of that honourable body, which it is their intention to manifest on all occasions.”*

The resolutions adopted by Congress were in a similar tone, concluding, as will be seen, with that for which the State authorities had hitherto so long struggled in vain, and of which Arnold so bitterly complained.

“Resolved, That Congress is highly sensible of the importance and services of the State of Pennsylvania in the present contest, and regard with sincere concern and regret every event which may tend to lessen the mutual confidence and affection which has hitherto subsisted.

“Resolved, That it is the full intention of Congress on all occasions to manifest the same just and equal attention to the said state and authority of Pennsylvania, as to any other state in the union.

“Resolved, That any disrespectful and indecent behaviour of any officer of any rank under the appointment of Congress, to the civil authority of any State in the Union, will be discountenanced and discouraged; and that a contrary behaviour will be considered as one of the surest means to recommend any officer to the favour and notice of Congress.

“Resolved, That his Excellency Joseph Reed’s letter to Congress, of the 25th of January, 1779, and General Arnold’s letters of the 8th and 12th of

* Journals of Assembly, p. 358.

February, and the Resolves therein contained of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, be, with the evidence which has been collected and reported by the committee on those letters, transmitted to the Commander-in-chief, and that he be directed to appoint a Court Martial on the first, second, third, and fifth articles contained in the said resolves of the said Executive Council, the said articles only being cognizable by a Court Martial; and that the reference be notified to the Supreme Executive Council, and they be requested to furnish the evidence to the Court Martial.”*

On the 8th April, the Pennsylvania Assembly, then about to adjourn, passed the following resolution:—

“Resolved, That the executive powers of government have been administered to the entire satisfaction of this House, and the general content of the good people of this state; and that this House cheerfully give this testimony of their approbation to his Excellency, the President, and the other members of the Council, as an earnest of their resolution to support them in a continuance of the faithful and honourable discharge of their duty, and a mark of their perfect confidence and regard.”†

The military court met at Camp in January, 1780, and convicted Arnold on two of the charges preferred by the Council: that of giving a pass to a vessel to sail from an enemy's port, and that of using the public wagons for private use; though even on these they acquitted him of any corrupt intent. Throughout the whole investigation, with the details of which the reader is presumed to be familiar, and which will be hereafter referred to when the correspondence is resumed, it suited Arnold's purposes to attribute especial rancour and malignity to the President of Pennsylvania. This was his theme in private and in public. On the 8th of February, 1779, he wrote to Miss Shippen, the lady whom he soon after married, the following characteristic letter.

ARNOLD TO MISS SHIPPEN.‡

Camp at Raritan, Feb. 8th, 1779.

MY DEAREST LIFE,

Never did I so ardently long to see or hear from you as at this instant. I

* Journals, '79, pp. 134, 5.

† Journals of Assembly, p. 359.

‡ The daughter of Edward Shippen, afterwards (in 1799) Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

am all impatience and anxiety to know how you do: six days' absence, without hearing from my dear Peggy, is intollerable. Heavens! what must I have suffered, had I continued my journey—the loss of happiness for a few dirty acres. I can almost bless the villanous roads, and more *villanous men*, who oblige me to return: I am heartily tired with my journey, and almost so with human nature. I daily discover so much baseness and ingratitude among mankind, that I almost blush at being of the same species, and could quit the stage without regret, was it not for some few gentle, generous souls like my dear Peggy, who still retain the lively impression of their Maker's image, and who, with smiles of benignity and goodness, make all happy around them. Let me beg of you not to suffer the rude attacks on me to give you one moment's uneasiness; they can do me no injury. I am treated with the greatest politeness by General Washington and the officers of the army, who bitterly execrate Mr. Reed and the Council for their villanous attempt to injure me. They have advised me to proceed on my journey. The badness of the roads will not permit, was it possible to support an absence of four weeks, for in less time I could not accomplish it.

The day after to-morrow I leave this, and hope to be made happy by your smiles on Friday evening; 'till then all nature smiles in vain; for you alone, heard, felt, and seen, possess my every thought, fill every sense, and pant in every vein.

Clarkson will send an express to meet me at Bristol;* make me happy by one line, to tell me you are so; please to present my best respects to our mamma and the family. My prayers and best wishes attend my dear Peggy. Adieu! and believe me sincerely and affectionately thine.

B. ARNOLD.

Miss Peggy Shippen.

On the discovery of Arnold's treason in 1780, this letter came into the hands of Mr. Reed, by whom it was communicated to Washington, who at once and with emphasis disclaimed the opinions thus attributed to him.

"I cannot," he wrote, "suffer myself to delay a moment in pronouncing, if Arnold, by the words, (in his letter to his wife,) 'I am treated with the greatest politeness by General Washington and the officers of the army, who bitterly execrate Mr. Reed and the Council for their villanous attempt to injure me,' meant to comprehend me in the latter part of the expression, that he asserted an absolute falsehood.

"It was at no time my inclination, much less my intention, to

* Major Matthew Clarkson, of New York, was one of Arnold's aids.

become a party in his cause; and I certainly could not be so lost to my own character as to become a partisan at the moment I was called upon officially to bring him to trial.

"I am not less mistaken if he has not extended the former part of the paragraph a little too far. True it is he *self* invited some civilities, I never meant to show him, (or any officer in arrest,) and he received rebuke before I could convince him of the impropriety of his entering upon a justification of his conduct in my presence, and for bestowing such illiberal abuse as he seemed disposed to do upon those whom he denominated his persecutors.

"Although you have done me the justice to disbelieve Arnold's assertion to his wife, a regard to my own feelings claims a declaration of the falsehood of it."

These malignant denunciations were not confined to his private intercourse. In the arrogant defence which he made before the Court Martial, written and uttered at the time when he was and had been for many months in treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, he had the unblushing effrontery to use the following language of malignant insinuation:

"On this occasion I think I may be allowed to say without vanity, that my conduct from the earliest period of the war to the present time has been steady and uniform. I have ever obeyed the calls of my country, and stepped forth in her defence in every hour of danger when many were deserting her cause, which appeared desperate. I have often bled in it; the marks that I bear are sufficient evidence of my conduct. The impartial public will judge of my services, and whether the returns I have met with are not tinctured with the basest ingratitude. Conscious of my own innocence, and of the unworthy methods taken to injure me, I can with boldness say to my persecutors in general, and to the chief of them in particular, that in the hour of danger, when the affairs of America wore a gloomy aspect, when our illustrious General was retreating through New Jersey with a handful of men, I did not propose to my associates to quit the General, and sacrifice the cause of my country to my personal safety by going over to the

enemy and making my peace. I can say I never basked in the sunshine of my General's favour, and courted him to his face, when I was at the same time treating him with the greatest disrespect, and vilifying his character when absent. This is more than a ruling member of the Council of the State of Pennsylvania can say, as is alleged and believed."*

"When Arnold's insinuation," says Mr. Reed, writing of it several years afterwards, "dropt, a smile of contempt manifested itself throughout the room, and his few well-wishers expressed their fears that it would injure other parts of his defence." It is one of Mr. Reed's highest honours that Arnold was his boldest and most malignant defamer; and it is quite probable that the prosecution which the Pennsylvania authorities instituted was the means of precipitating his defection. I have seen nothing, however, in the form of evidence to justify the poor apology which has sometimes been made for Arnold's treason, that but for this prosecution, it would never have occurred. If the course of his secret motives could be disclosed, it would be found that with the exception of animal courage, which he had in an eminent degree, there was little else in his moral constitution to lighten the judgment which has long since been pronounced on him. The constitutional obliquity of Arnold, with its gradual developement to the worst of social crimes—treason to his country—is as much part of the Revolutionary picture, as the complete virtue of Washington.

* Mr. Sparks has fixed the commencement of Arnold's correspondence with André at about the month of April, 1779, so that at the time this infamous slander was uttered, (January, 1780,) his intercourse of treason was at least nine months old. See *Washington*, vii. 52, and *Sparks' Life and Treason of Arnold*. At p. 141 of the latter, Mr. Sparks says: "The boastfulness and malignity of these declarations are obvious enough, but their consummate hypocrisy can be understood only by knowing the fact that at the moment they were uttered, he had been eight months in secret correspondence with the enemy, and was prepared, if not resolved, when the first opportunity should offer, to desert and betray his country. No suspicions of such a purpose being entertained, these effusions were regarded as the offspring of vanity and the natural violence of his temper. They now afford remarkable evidence of the duplicity of his character, and of the art with which he concealed the blackest schemes of wickedness under the guise of pretended virtue and boast of immaculate innocence."—See *Austin's Gerry*, vol. i. p. 356.

"Arnold's conduct," said Washington, writing the next year to Reed, "is so villanously perfidious, that there are no terms which can describe the baseness of his heart. That overruling Providence which has so often and so remarkably interposed in our favour, never manifested itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of the horrid intention to surrender the post and garrison of West Point into the hands of the enemy. I confine my remarks to this simple act of perfidy, for I am far from thinking he intended to hazard a defeat of this important object by combining another risk, although there were circumstances which led to a contrary belief. The confidence and folly which have marked the subsequent conduct of this man are of a piece with his villany; and all three are perfect in their kind."

It is most agreeable to turn from this scene of perfidy and its actor, to the honest and soldier-like simplicity of the following letter, received by Mr. Reed, during the height of the Arnold excitement, from one of his companions in arms, a gallant man, to whose patriotism and steady public services, justice in our history has scarcely been done. The letter speaks for itself, and is very interesting in its earnest and direct energy.

GENERAL M'DOUGALL TO PRESIDENT REED.

Head-Quarters, Peck's Hill, March 25th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was honoured in due time with your favour of the 28th ultimo.

I have written to Brigadier-General Huntington on the subject of Mr. Minar's complaint, and enclosed him certified copies of the depositions transmitted to you. General Parsons is at New London.

The former being a gentleman and a man of nice feelings, and connected with Governor Trumbull, I considered him as the fittest person to aid in obtaining redress. It would give me great pleasure to visit your city, for many reasons. But the state of my command at these posts utterly forbid it. You will be informed by the enclosed the state of the enemy in my front. And I am so closely kept to business that I have not time to take proper rest. The grand army left me in a state little better than "bare creation." This with a variety of posts, new works to erect, and the different communications at these posts, give me full employ, from reveille to tattoo. I assure you I am obliged, from the duties of the post, and the state of the times, to live a truly Spartan life. But this is not painful to me.

It has been the misfortune of this country that every year has afforded some amusement to retard its exertions against the common enemy. At one time reconciliation, another, our assistance from France is to effect our deliverance; this failing, our alliance with that people was to accomplish our redemption; now Spain's acceding to our independency is the tub of the day. Those alliances are favourable and natural as they have mutual interest for their basis, and there can be no important temptation to either of the parties to recede from them. But, my dear sir, if all Europe was to declare in our favour, this will not pay our debts, or restore our depreciated currency; and foreign loans will ruin us by paying interest to foreigners, out of our country. Our deliverance under God must come from ourselves. The voice of Providence points it out; I had almost said, divine revelation does it. I own, however advantageous those alliances are to America, my hopes or expectations from them are not so sanguine as that of many others. One decisive naval victory in favour of your enemies will give them courage, vigour, and public credit. That nation as such, is poor, but the individuals of it are rich, and they are well practised in all the arts of financing. If that people are once brought on such an event, to exert themselves in favour of their country, the war will be lengthened out much longer than our sanguine politicians imagine. We ought to be vigorously preparing for an offensive campaign, but instead of this, America is in a profound sleep.

We vainly imagine the enemy will evacuate New York. He has no such intention. He is confident our currency will fail us, and that three-fourths of the inhabitants of these states are pleased with the terms offered by the Commissioners, and that whenever the supplies for the army fail, the people will return to their allegiance. He is now counterfeiting another emission, which will soon be out.

I feel mortified that the troops in New York should hold America at defiance, and sure I am, they might be routed this campaign if early preparations are made. While the enemy is master of our coast, by our attempting to cover the whole country, we cover none of it. I know the Commander-in-chief is embarrassed often for want of strength, and with the partial cries and views of the different states. But if we carry on the war as we have done, we shall do nothing decisive. We fall under the reprehension of that sagacious statesman and soldier, the King of Prussia. His ideas are these: "The General acting on the defensive, who attempts to cover all his country, will cover none." The conduct of our gentleman you allude to is truly mysterious. There is one obvious important point in which your state and ours have a common interest. How they can reconcile it to their trust to create distrust in your people, and meddle with your internal affairs, I am at a loss to conceive; sure I am, it is not agreeable to their immediate or remote constituents. Under the rose, measures are in train to regulate the conduct of gentlemen who seem to require it.

The want of the Journals of Congress is a great impediment to the

public service; as in many instances the country and army are total strangers to the law of either, so far as it respects their conduct. Resolves published in newspapers get lost, and although they may be transmitted to the Commander-in-chief, and by him to officers commanding departments, yet the latter is often changed, and the relievers are without law. I have more than once represented to that honourable body and some of its members the absolute necessity of publishing the acts of Congress in pamphlet form, at least so far as they respect the army. But without effect. I fear there is too much caballing amongst them, and that by their grasping to do everything themselves very little is done. All necessary boards should be constituted, and they should be made answerable for the faithful discharge of their trust with their heads. While we are pleasing and amusing ourselves with Spartan constitutions on paper, a very contrary spirit reigns triumphant in all ranks; we may look out for some fatal *calamity* to befall this people. Our political constitutions and manners do not agree; one or the other must fall—give way—otherwise America is a phenomenon in civil society. Spartan constitutions and Roman manners, peculiar to her declining state, never will accord. This is wrote in haste; I therefore beg you will view it with an indulgent eye, and believe me to be,

With great truth and regard,
Your affectionate friend and very humble servant,
ALEXANDER M'DOUGALL.*

The despatches of Washington to Congress show how much complaint was justly made by the Continental soldiers, of the inadequacy of the allowance of seven years' half pay, and how extensive a disorganization of the army it was producing. In March, 1779, President Reed received the two following letters from the Major-General in command of the Pennsylvania line, on the subject of their complaints. They are all curiously

* The writer of this manly letter was one whom his fellow-patriots of the Revolution most esteemed. Washington, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson in 1786, comprises him in a distinguished triumvirate: "You will probably have heard of the death of General Greene before this reaches you; in which case you will, in common with your countrymen, have regretted so great and so honest a man. General M'Dougall, who was a brave soldier and a disinterested patriot, is also dead. He belonged to the Legislature of his state, (New York.) The last act of his life was, (after being carried on purpose to the Senate,) to give his voice against the emission of a paper currency. Colonel Tilghman, who was formerly of my family, died lately, and left as fair a reputation as ever belonged to a human character. Thus some of the pillars of the Revolution fall. Others are mouldering by insensible degrees. May our country never want props to support the glorious fabric."—*Sparks' Washington*, vol. ix. 187.

illustrative of the perplexities of the times, perplexities not very picturesque, but vexatious and harassing in the extreme.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO PRESIDENT REED.

Camp at Millstone, March 5th, 1779.

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose you some of the resolutions of the state of Massachusetts Bay, relative to the supply of their troops, and letters from General Scott of New York and the commissary of that State on the same subject. The resolves of Connecticut have not yet been procured. By them you will observe how differently the troops of these states have been treated from those of Pennsylvania, and that in New York they have extended their attention and bounty to the families of their soldiers, who are supplied with the necessaries of life at very moderate rates. I wish I was certain that many of ours in this time of scarcity were not starving. The same I am told has taken place in Massachusetts Bay.

The troops of Virginia are also supplied with necessaries at very low prices, and at this very time, broad-cloths and linens are sold in camp, to their officers, at as low a price as they could ever have been purchased for; besides they are now making up their pay-books for six months' pay, a present from the state, as some compensation for the depreciation of the money. This difference alone would sufficiently account for the dissatisfaction that so generally prevails in the Pennsylvania line, so great that the officers are ready to seize even the shadow of a pretext to quit the service, and unless some remedy is very soon applied, I believe we shall have very few officers indeed left by the opening of the campaign. Another reason, however, is the effect of that resolve of Congress that restrains them to one ration. It bears very hard upon them; the money they receive for those retained, being so far from an equivalent, that it will scarce purchase anything, to such a low ebb is our money run down, and the cursed spirit of extortion risen at the same time; in the mean time I have heard that there are some stores coming on—this will I hope convince them that they are not altogether neglected, and nothing in my power shall be wanting to keep them easy until further provision can be made; but I very much doubt its being in the power of the state to supply them so amply as some of our Southern and Eastern neighbours.

The mode of oppressing the districts for a regulated number of shoes and stockings, as mentioned in General Scott's letter, it seems to me, might easily be carried into execution in Pennsylvania, and thereby, I think, a very considerable supply might be procured.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

On the next day, the evil becoming more extensive, and the complaint louder, General St. Clair again wrote.

ST. CLAIR TO REED.

Camp at Millstone, March 6th, 1779.

SIR,

Since I wrote you yesterday, another very disagreeable circumstance has occurred in our line, which I was informed of an hour ago. The officers, it seems, have formed a committee to state their grievances to the field-officers, who were some time ago appointed by General Wayne, to correspond with the Committee of Assembly. They enumerated to them several, the principal of which, however, were the depreciated state of the money, and the little care that has been taken to supply them, whilst the troops of some other states, serving with them, have been very amply and very reasonably supplied. So far they had reason, but they have gone farther. They complain of the half-pay establishment, and want a provision made for the widows of such officers as have fallen or may fall in the contest, and require them to represent these matters to the Legislature of the State, and acquaint them that if they do not receive entire satisfaction on these points, on or before the 15th of April, every officer of the line will then resign their commissions into the hands of the Executive Council.

I know not that in my life I have met with anything that gave me so much uneasiness for the time; indeed the committees that have been from time to time formed in the army, I ever had a bad opinion of, and dreaded ill consequences from. They are certainly destructive of that subordination which is the soul of discipline, and will spread a spirit of mutiny and disobedience through the whole. Unfortunately our circumstances will not admit of our applying the proper remedy; it is therefore necessary to temporize, and I have, therefore, shown every mark of disapprobation that did not tend directly to inflame the evil, and by promising to write myself, and desiring the field-officers to write, by representing to them the impossibility that the Legislature would yet have had time to take up the grievances they suffered, that had already been stated to them, and the probability that before the time they had specified, they would be convinced of their sincere intentions to make their situation as easy as any of their fellow-soldiers, have, I hope, put a stop to a combination, ruinous to our public affairs, and disgraceful both to the state and to the parties, but which, had it once been gone into, the principles of false honour might have led them religiously to observe. At the same time it is my duty to inform you explicitly, that their complaints are but too well founded; that, I believe, necessity has in a great measure compelled them to the steps they have

taken, and their distresses are aggravated by the comparisons which are constantly before them, which must inevitably sour the minds of men of spirit, who have the consciousness of having literally borne the heat and burden of the day.

It might serve to elucidate their disagreeable situation to give you a detail of the prices which things in general bear. It would be tedious, however, and I will only say that most articles are as high as in the market of Philadelphia, and some much higher. Judge of the rest from this circumstance,—a dozen of eggs cannot be purchased for less than two dollars.

Having mentioned the ill consequences of combination for any purpose whatever, amongst our officers, I cannot help taking notice in extenuation, though it serves to confirm the principle of their danger, that the officers of our State have been led into this by the example of those of New Jersey, who, some time ago, made a similar representation, which produced an immediate Resolve of Council for issuing a considerable sum of money for their relief.

I am sure I need not press you on this head, but give me leave to repeat that it is necessary something should be done immediately, or there is too much reason to fear the dissolution of our part of the army. No exertions of mine shall be wanting to prevent so great a calamity; and though it is a misfortune to have come to the command of it at this trying period, if I can steer happily through it, and render any service to my country, I shall not regret any pains it will cost me.

Your favour of the 28th is this moment come to hand, and the stores were yesterday at Trenton. They will arrive in a happy time, and I hope by a proper distribution of them, things will be made easier. It must have the effect to convince the officers that the state does not entirely neglect them, and will keep alive expectation, the best handle by which the human mind can be laid hold of, and I shall not fail to make the officers acquainted with the pains you have taken to serve them in this business.

The disputed claims of the officers the General has referred to ourselves, and to-morrow the field officers will meet upon it at my quarters, when I hope we shall be able to hit upon some mode that will please all parties, which, by the bye, will not be very easy, interest and obstinacy generally appearing under one banner.

If any attempts have been made to engage the gentlemen of the army in the parties that unhappily distract our state, it is altogether unknown to me, nor will it ever meet with my countenance; and although I always have been from principle opposed to our present Constitution, of which I never made a secret, and in private life would have joined in any measures that promised to bring about an amendment, yet whenever it appears to be the choice of the majority of my fellow-citizens, I shall consider it as my duty to acquiesce. My opposition never arose from a dislike to men, but because I thought it contained principles unfavourable to liberty, and must inevitably, sooner or later, end in a tyranny of the worst kind. That pettishness

that quarrels with a Government on account of those who happen for the time to administer it, is unworthy a man of sentiment and reflection.

I am very sorry that the letters of Colonels Butler, Harmar, and Hay should have been so expressed as to admit of a construction I am persuaded they did not intend. I will have an explanation of that matter as soon as I can see them, and am, with much esteem,

Your Excellency's very humble and obedient servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

Whilst necessities of this description were pressing on the Executive, party spirit, in its worst form, was impeding the course of Government. It infected every part of the public service—military as well as civil. Many gallant men, indulging in antipathies to a form of political institution, which, in their exaggeration, now seem very absurd, threw up their commissions, and retired to private life. Others, glad of any pretext for seclusion, found one in this matter of a defective frame of government, and resisting all importunity, withdrew to such privacy and enjoyment as the disturbed times afforded.

Such appears to have been the contamination of the local politics of Pennsylvania, that on the 26th of March, 1779, General Greene, as Quartermaster-General, found it necessary to issue the following circular letter to the officers of his department. The President always had in him a steady and resolute friend.

CIRCULAR.

Middle Brook, 26 March, 1779.

The party faction and cabal that have so long prevailed in the state of Pennsylvania, against the present Constitution, has no doubt fixed its partisans for and against it. I know not a more dangerous situation than that of falling into the current of party. People thus circumstanced are very apt to forsake the directing principles of equal justice, which are so necessary to guide them through the various duties of real life, and follow the particular views of party without regarding whom or what it effects upon the fair, just, and generous principles of common right. He who is under the influence of this temper is an unfit agent for public trust; he is not only incapable of an impartial line of conduct from his own feelings, but must naturally expect that every clog and embarrassment, however detrimental to the public, that will either serve to sink his reputation or work his ruin will be thrown in his way by the opposite party.

I have carefully attended to the politics of that state, and I may venture to speak with certainty, that the Constitution has been gradually gaining ground from first to last. The firm footing which it now appears to have got in the minds of the people induces me to think it but a folly to oppose its progress. But supposing the fate of the Constitution was not yet decided, and the minds of the people balancing for and against it, yet I think every public officer, from reasons of policy, as well as a regard to the public interest, should stand aloof, unconnected with either. It is both unlawful, as it respects the state, and unjust, as it concerns the public, to exercise any official influence to effect any revolution or change in government, which is nothing less than endeavouring to give an improper bias to the free sentiments of the people. This I conceive to be unlawful, as it respects the state; unjust, as it concerns the government, by mingling private politics with public transactions, and improving powers for one purpose that were delegated for another.

In the present conjuncture of affairs, when money has been a feeble influence, when the supplies for the army are scarce, and difficult to be got, when public emergencies are too great for the powers of office, and in influence of government necessary for its aid, both public and private policy point out the necessity of standing upon a friendly footing with those in power, and I think it but a piece of justice due to the interest of the public (let your private sentiments be what they may) to observe such a line of conduct while in office as may be best calculated to influence Government to give the necessary support. What hopes can a person have of discharging the duties of his office with reputation to himself, and to the satisfaction of the public, when he has not only to combat the difficulties that are incidental to the business, but to stem the stream of public resentment?

I am persuaded that it will be both for your interest and ease, as well as for the public advantage, to follow the line of conduct which I have pointed out. But for fear the influence of party, or motives of private resentment, should propel you to a contrary conduct, I take the liberty of enjoining it upon you, as much from a regard for your own reputation as that of the public welfare. I think my own character much at stake as a private gentleman and public officer, and so intimately connected with every agent employed under me, that both private policy and the public good render the foregoing precautions necessary, which I hope you will conform to as well from duty as inclination.

I am, with esteem and regard,

N. GREENE.

The appeals on behalf of the suffering soldiers were not without effect. On the 11th of March, the Assembly, having received an urgent letter to the same end from General Wayne, referred the whole matter to a committee, which, on

the 13th, reported several Resolutions, which were agreed to, giving to every Pennsylvania officer who received the seven years' half pay from Congress, a continuation of the same during life, with pensions to their widows, and exempting all lands given to officers and soldiers from taxation. A few days after (24th), the same provisions were extended to naval officers, seamen and marines.* The Resolves thus promptly and generously passed continued in full force till the following year, when they were permanently embodied in a Statute.†

The incipient discontent on this score was at once removed: and on the 27th President Reed, in a Message to the Assembly, communicated the following expression of gratitude from the objects of this bounty.

TO PRESIDENT REED.

Millstone Camp, March 27th, 1779.

SIR,

Deeply impressed with the truest sense of gratitude, we beg leave, in the name of all the officers and troops of the state, to return your Excellency and the honourable Council and Assembly, our most sincere and hearty thanks for the generous resolves passed in our favour. It really affords us great pleasure to find our past conduct acceptable to you, and assure you, sir, that our endeavours shall not be wanting to merit the esteem and confidence of a virtuous President and Legislature, under whose auspices we hope to see unanimity, wisdom, and public interest flourish, and a government that it will be the duty and interest of every individual in the state to support. And when called forth to the field, rest assured, sir, we shall exert every nerve to advance the honour and dignity of the state to which we belong.‡

* Journals of Assembly, pp. 335-6, 43.

† 1 Smith's Laws, 487. The act is entitled, "An act for the more effectual supply and honourable reward of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States."

‡ This letter was signed by the following officers:—

James Chambers, Colonel, 1st Pennsylvania regiment; Richard Butler, Colonel, 9th Pennsylvania regiment; T. Craig, Colonel, 3d Pennsylvania regiment, William Williams, Lieut. Col., 3d Pennsylvania regiment; Jos. Harmar, Lieut. Col., 6th Pennsylvania regiment; J. P. Mentges, Major, 7th Pennsylvania regiment; John Murray, Major, 2d Pennsylvania regiment; Thomas L. Byles, Major, 3d Pennsylvania regiment; J. Grier, Major, 10th Pennsylvania regiment.

No sooner were these causes of difficulty and anxiety removed, than others were developed. The Executive had no more urgent care than the defence of the Northern and Western Frontier, at that time extending, almost without protection, from the Susquehanna to the Alleghany. The calamity at Wyoming had just occurred; and notwithstanding the position of considerable bodies of militia and regular troops at Fort Augusta (Sunbury) and Fort Pitt, constant incursions and massacres took place within the imaginary lines which government was supposed to protect, and in the heart of the frontier settlements. What was attempted and done by the Executive of Pennsylvania and the Commander-in-chief, will appear from the following correspondence. It is full of interest.

Two letters, selected from many others, written in April, 1779, from different points of the frontier to Mr. Reed, show the actual distress of the inhabitants. From Westmoreland, then a frontier county, one correspondent wrote:—"The distress of this country by the savages cannot be described. Attacks upon us are frequent, and on divers parts. Our efforts towards defending ourselves by our own militia, these two years past, have been great, and our farms have thereby been neglected to such a degree, that it is beyond a doubt we must be defended in some other manner, or leave the country, or perish with famine. This hath been for some time past a given point by all who are acquainted with and seriously consider our circumstances.

"Thus, the good people of this country, plainly perceiving that the householders must either be left to their industry on their farms the ensuing season, or the country must be abandoned, have voluntarily contributed to hire one hundred and twenty men, to serve as scouts or guards on the frontiers, instead of classes or drafts from the militia.

"We are obliged to assure these men a considerable sum monthly, over and above the usual pay of militia. We engage them for six months, if not sooner discharged.

"Fatal necessity, and that only, hath obliged the people to adopt this mode of defence, of which I, (from the same unanswerable argument,) most heartily approve. I do most importunately represent to your honours that these men, great parts

of whom are already engaged, together with the officers here appointed to that duty, may be put upon the same footing with the five companies ordered to be raised by Congress. And I wish we were ordered by Council to raise one company more in this country, the officers to be nominated by the lieutenant of this county, and that the officers already appointed, of which you will receive a list, may be forthwith commissioned, according to the request herewith sent to Council. You will see General M'Intosh's letter to Mr. Locke on this subject."*

Another correspondent at the same time wrote from the North:

Fort Augusta, 27th April, 1779.

——— I am really sorry to inform you of our present disturbances: not a day but there is some of the enemy make their appearance on our frontiers. On Sunday last there was a party of the savages attacked the inhabitants that lived near Fort Jenkins, and had taken two or three families prisoners; but the garrison being apprised of it, about thirty men turned out of the Fort, and rescued the prisoners. The Indians, collecting themselves in a body, drove our men under cover of the Fort, with the loss of three men killed, and four badly wounded. They burned several houses near the Fort, killed cattle, and drove off a number of horses. Yesterday there was another party of Indians, about thirty or forty, killed and took seven of our militia that were stationed at a little fort near Muncy Hill, called Fort Freeland. There were two or three of the inhabitants taken prisoners; among the latter is James M'Knight, one of our Assemblymen. The same day a party of thirteen inhabitants that went to hunt their horses, about four or five miles from Fort Muncy, was fired upon by a large party of Indians, and all taken or killed except one man. Captain Walker, of the Continental troops, who commands at that post, turned out with thirty-four men to the place he heard the firing, and found four men killed and scalped, and supposes they captivated the remainder.

This is the way our frontier is harassed by a cruel savage enemy, so that they cannot get any spring crops in to induce them to stay in the country. I am afraid that in a very short time we shall have no inhabitants above this place, unless when General Hand arrives here he may order some of the troops at Wyoming down on our frontier, as Colonel Hartley's regiment, our two months' men, and what militia we can turn out are very inadequate

* This letter is dated April 9th, 1779, Hanna's Town, and written by Thomas Scott. In 1782, Hanna's Town was utterly destroyed by the Indians. The reader is referred for an interesting account of the catastrophe, to Mr. Sherman Days' "Historical Collections," a work of great merit.

to guard our country. Suppose the few virtuous inhabitants do all in their power to maintain their ground, yet all will not do without some more assistance, till such time as the expedition is carried on.

I am certain that everything is doing for our relief, but am afraid it will be too late for this country, as it is impossible to prevail on the inhabitants to make a stand on account of their women and children. I am reflected upon very much by some of the inhabitants that have lately suffered, for assuring them of relief very soon, and to endeavour to stand until such time as the expedition was carried on against the Indian towns. Our case is really deplorable and alarming, as we are surrounded by a cruel savage enemy at this present time, and our country on the eve of breaking up, as I am informed, at the time I am writing this, by two or three expresses, that there is nothing to be seen but desolation, fire, and smoke; as the inhabitants are collected at particular places, the enemy burn all the houses that they have evacuated.*

These are specimens of the complaints and supplications which reached the State authorities, and which justified the absolute importunities which the Assembly and Council addressed to Congress and the Commander-in-chief. Washington thus answered them.

WASHINGTON TO PRESIDENT REED.

Head-Quarters, March 3d, 1779.

SIR,

The President of Congress has transmitted me the instructions of the Assembly of your State, to their delegates, founded on a representation of the distresses of your western frontiers—and farther, the opinion of a committee of the House on the subject of their defence, together with two resolves made in consequence.

I am, therefore, to inform your Excellency that offensive operations against the hostile tribes of Indians have been meditated and determined upon—that preparations have some time since been making for that purpose, and will be carried into execution at a proper season, if no unexpected event takes place, and the situation of affairs on the seaboard will justify the undertaking; but the profoundest secrecy was judged necessary to the success of such an enterprise, for the following reasons. That immediately upon the discovery of our design, the savages would either put themselves in a condition to make head against us by a reunion of all their force and that of their allies,

* From Samuel Hunter, Lieutenant, Northumberland County, dated 7th April, 1779, Fort Augusta. The site of the old Fort is still in the possession of the family of Mr. Hunter.

strengthened besides by succours from Canada, or elude the expedition altogether—which might be done at the expense only of a temporary evacuation of forests, which we could not possess, and the destruction of a few settlements, which they might soon re-establish.

Though this matter is less under the veil of secrecy, than was originally intended, your Excellency will see the propriety of using such precautions as still remain in our power to prevent its being divulged—and of covering such preparations as might tend to announce it with the most specious disguise, that the enemy's attention may not be awakened to our real object.

With respect to the force to be employed on this occasion, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that the detaching a considerable number of Continental troops, on such a remote expedition, would too much expose the country adjacent to the body of the enemy's army.

There must, therefore, be efficacious assistance derived from the States whose frontiers are obnoxious to the inroads of the barbarians, and for this, I intended, at a proper time, to make application. Your Excellency will be pleased to acquaint me, what force yours, in particular, can furnish, in addition to the five companies voted by Congress, and when you think those companies or the major part of them will probably be raised.

What proportion of the levies of your State might be drawn from those inhabitants who have been driven from the frontiers, and what previous measures can be taken to engage them, without giving the alarm? This class of people, besides the advantages of knowledge of the country, and the particular motives with which they will be animated, are most likely to furnish the troops best calculated for this service—which should be corps of active rangers, who are, at the same time, expert marksmen, and accustomed to the irregular kind of wood fighting practised by the Indians. Men of this description, embodied under proper officers, would be infinitely preferable to a superior number of militia, unacquainted with this kind of war, and who would exhaust the magazines of ammunition and provision, without rendering any effectual service.

It will be a very necessary attention to avoid the dangers of short enlistments,—the service should be limited only by the expedition, or a term amply competent to it—otherwise we shall be exposed to the evident ill consequences of having the men's engagements expire at an interesting, perhaps a critical juncture. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, March 12th, 1779.

SIR,

Your favour of the 3d inst., enclosed in one of the 4th, came safely to hand. At that time, and till this day, the business to which they refer was

transacted by a Committee of Assembly, in concert with one from Congress. Their proceedings I only knew from common report, and were thought by some inadequate to the end. Yesterday, advice was received that the Indians had begun at a place called Bushy Run, about twenty miles on this side Fort Pitt, and have killed and scalped four families. This morning the Assembly came to a Resolution to leave the whole business to your Excellency, the Congress and the Executive Council; and as the intercourse by letters on a subject of this kind will be very imperfect, I have concluded to wait on your Excellency at your quarters, with such information and intelligence as I can procure. In this purpose I shall set out on Sunday morning, and if weather, or some other unforeseen circumstance does not prevent, I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you on Monday evening.

The ladies of my family join me in the most respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington: I need not make professions how much or how sincerely

I am, dear sir, &c.

The Assembly and the Continental authorities exerted themselves to the utmost, and a considerable force was stationed at Fort Pitt, under the command of Colonel Brodhead, whilst, as it will be seen, measures were on foot to avenge the massacre at Wyoming, by a devastating and retaliatory march into the Indian country. Brodhead's command seems to have been very much isolated and scattered, at different posts on the Alleghany and Ohio. He speaks constantly in his letters to Council, of the Indian enemy in his rear, and the correspondence shows that while the nominal authority of the State, sustained by detached posts, extended to the present Western boundary, the territory far within those lines was devastated by the savages, in all the extremities of their ferocious warfare. In May, of this year, General Potter wrote from Penn's Valley to the President, describing himself as keeping garrison for six weeks with his family, and unable, surrounded as he was by the Indians, to communicate with any of the neighbouring posts. His account of the state of the frontiers is very curious. It is one which the prosperous resident of the beautiful valleys of Middle Pennsylvania can now with difficulty realize. The following extract tells its own tale very simply and precisely.

"Our county has been severely scourged some days past by the Indians; by the best accounts I can receive, we have had killed and taken prisoners about forty persons. The particulars I expect you will receive before this comes to hand.

The militia of Colonel Buchanan's battalion, of Cumberland County, was ordered to march to Fort Roberdeau; they refused to march, alleging it was unreasonable to order them out, and to have no guards on their own frontiers, but at the same time declared their willingness to guard the frontiers opposite to themselves. On my conferring with Colonel Stewart, one of the sub-lieutenants of that county, he allowed them to march one-half of the company to this valley, and the other half to Standingstone Valley, in Bedford County. Those that were for this place came here on the 29th of April, and the day before Colonel Hunter sent to this valley one officer and fifteen men of those that were raised by subscription, and yesterday, unexpected, came Captain Cirbey, with his troop of light-horse, that were ordered by the Board of War in February last to this place. Colonel Hartley, for what reason I know not, got the Board to countermand these orders. On Captain Cirbey's arrival here, I sent the Cumberland militia to Standingstone Valley, in Bedford County; there we got supplied with men, after I had the pleasure of keeping garrison with my family alone for six weeks, in one of the frontier garrisons of the county, and not a man stationed on any part of the frontiers of the two counties, from Muncy westward, until the 28th of April. I must confess, I think the militia of Colonel Buchanan's battalion were not to blame for refusing to march to Fort Roberdeau, when there were no guards on their own frontiers, and but a few inhabitants shut up in forts, and every day likely to evacuation; and although I have always been for obedience to orders, the lieutenant's orders to that company, considering their circumstances, were too hard to be complied with. Our people on the frontiers of this county show a much better spirit, and make a better stand than I expected. I trust God, through his blessing, the ensuing campaign, will grant relief."*

* Penn's Valley in Centre County, one of the most fertile and beautiful portions of Pennsylvania, is yet inhabited by many of General Potter's descendants.—*Days' Historical Collections*, p. 202.

CHAPTER III.

1779.

State of affairs in America—Washington at Middlebrook—Letters to President Reed, March 1779—Depredations of the Enemy in Connecticut—Southern Campaign—Attack on Savannah—Count d'Estaing—John Rutledge—Affairs in England in 1779—Alarm on Coast of England—D'Orvilliers—Paul Jones—Duke of Richmond's Speech—President Reed's correspondence with Washington—Defence of the Frontiers—Generals Hand and M'Intosh—Proclamation of 22d April, 1779—Party Spirit—Mode of Enlistment—Deserters—Embargo—Massachusetts Delegation—General Potter's Letter—Letter to General Hand.

THE year 1779 was marked by peculiar, though in one sense not very stirring interest. It was the period of collapse on both sides of the Atlantic, and yet though few battles or decisive military movements excited public attention, it is a period in our Revolutionary history which well deserves study. Washington was at his camp at Middlebrook, watching in comparative inactivity the enemy in New York, who seemed at last to comprehend their true military policy to be that of vexatious depredation, and who struck blow after blow on the unprotected towns of the seaboard. On the 28th March, Washington, justly apprehending some such movements, wrote to President Reed a letter which illustrates his perplexed solicitude as to the predatory measures of his adversary: "The enemy," says he, "has some enterprise in view. New London, on account of the frigates in the river, and because boats have been preparing at the east end of Long Island, and troops for some time past drawing thitherward, is supposed to be the object. Probably it is so, but as the season is now approaching when either negotiations or vigorous exertions must take place, and General Clinton doubtless will, in the latter case, and in pursuance of the predatory plan talked of by the minority and

not disavowed by the Administration, attempt something that will give eclat to his arms, I should not be much surprised if some vigorous efforts were used against Annapolis, Baltimore, or even Philadelphia itself. I do not mean with a view to hold either of these places, but to plunder or destroy them. General Clinton (under pretence of visiting the troops), is now at the east end of Long Island with Sir William Erskine. Admiral Gambier is gone to Rhode Island; and one of my most intelligent correspondents informs me it is surmised that the troops at that place are to be withdrawn. Transports with provisions have gone from New York towards Rhode Island, and a number of privateers have been detained from their cruises and sent along with them. Upon the whole, I cannot help suspecting that the preparations have been too long making, too formidable, and too open for any enterprise against New London; for which place the fears of the people are up; and as we cannot tell where it may fall, we should, as far as human prudence and the means in our hands will enable us, be guarded at all points. The sole purpose of this letter is to suggest to your consideration the expediency of adopting in time some general plan (without taking notice of the present suggestion, thereby creating probably unnecessary fears), for giving an alarm to the militia of the country, and for fixing places of rendezvous for them, that in case of sudden emergency they may be quickly assembled free from tumult and disorder; for be assured, if anything is attempted against Philadelphia, the preparations for it will be hid under the darkest veil; and the movement, when the plan is ripe for execution, will be rapid."

The next day, distrusting his first impressions, he wrote again, as if to guard against too much excitement in the popular mind.

"Since mine of yesterday, I have received the enclosed extract of a letter from General Maxwell at Elizabethtown, which I send lest the suggestion contained in my letter should have made a deeper impression than I intended, which was no more than to hint at the advantages which might result from a systematical plan of assembling the militia at certain points, on any sudden exigency, and with more expedition, and less expense than it could be effected in the ordinary course of pro-

ceeding. Such a measure would I am certain be eligible in one point of view, but how far it can be planned without giving an alarm to our friends, and setting the numerous tribe of speculators and stockjobbers to work, you can judge better of than I."

These letters, selected from many others, show the tone of the times,—the actual and distressing solicitude, far worse than the expectation of immediate and decisive conflict, into which the country was plunged. It would seem too, from Washington's language, that at that early day, the instincts of speculative rapacity,—the appetite which has its richest indulgence in times of public anxiety and distress,—the restless cravings of the stockjobber and the speculator were in full activity. Human nature in its selfishness varies very little.*

Washington's fears of a descent to the Eastward were not groundless. It was not very long afterwards that almost every considerable village on the coast of Connecticut was destroyed, and the merciless invasion of Tryon and his organized loyalists; those, on whose kindred in Philadelphia so much morbid sympathy was wasted, spread havoc and destruction in a portion of the country which heretofore had been spared. At the same time an active campaign was conducted in the South; the French fleet under Count d'Estaing co-operating with General Lincoln and Governor Rutledge, in Georgia and South Carolina, against the common enemy, and with fluctuating success. There were no two States that in emergencies did more for themselves than South Carolina and Pennsylvania, and no two executive officers, each as will be seen hereafter clothed with extraordinary powers, that showed themselves more capable to meet a crisis and to justify the confidence reposed in them, than John Rutledge and Joseph Reed, contemporary Chief Magistrates. The campaign to the southward at this time, it may be observed in passing, was painfully chequered.

* Speaking of one who deserved all his praise and little of his satire, the Marquis de Chastellux in his American travels said: "C'est un negociant très riche; c'est par conséquent un homme de tous les pays, car le commerce a par tout le même caractère. Il est libre dans les monarchies, il est égoïste dans les républiques; étranger, ou, si l'on veut, citoyen dans tout l'univers, il exclut également les vertus et les préjugés qui s'opposent à son intérêt."—Tome i. p. 166, Ed. Paris, 1786.

The French navy then as ever, showed itself no match for the British sailors, whilst on shore, no soldiers could have exhibited more chivalric gallantry than the brave men, who, either as volunteers or troops of the line, were sent to us by France. There is no contrast that I am aware of in history more painful to the American student, than that which the personal history of some of these brave Frenchmen exhibits; one of them especially. The Count d'Estaing with his marines and sailors, side by side with Lincoln and the Americans, storming the redoubts at Savannah, on the 4th of October, 1779, and planting the French and American standards on the parapet, and the same old soldier, for he was more soldier than sailor, wandering about a few years later, heart-broken in the streets of Paris, and at last dying under the guillotine.*

Whilst the Americans were thus perplexed and alarmed by the movements of the enemy, and no one on the seaboard could tell how long he should be safe from assault and depredation, it is curious to observe the alarm and disturbance which prevailed in Great Britain. If Congress, the State Authorities, and the Commander-in-chief, were perplexed and alarmed here, in England the threatened danger, the intestine commotion, the panic, were quite as great. To an Englishman, the year 1779 is one of the least honourable in her annals. Not only were the Parliamentary feuds more virulent than ever, the Opposition stronger, and the Administration more perversely weak, but a deeper mortification than the pride of England had endured since the days of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, was inflicted. A French fleet rode in triumph in the Channel, and an American cruiser threatened the coast of Scotland, and captured a British frigate off Flamborough Head. "I alarmed their

* October 14, 1792.—"The hymn of the Marseillois is called for every evening at every theatre in Paris, and nothing can exceed the enthusiasm with which it is heard. I went last night to see a new piece called the Ephesian Matron. I sat in the parquet next to a remarkably tall man wrapped in a drab-coloured great coat, who seemed between sixty and seventy years of age. On his withdrawing, I was told it was Admiral d'Estaing, who commanded the French fleet and army in America during the last war. He has taken no part in the latest transactions; he seems to desire to live unnoticed, and hitherto he has been unmolested."—*Doctor Moore's Journal*, vol. ii. p. 134. D'Estaing was guillotined in 1793.

coast," Paul Jones wrote exultingly to Mr. Morris, "prodigiously, from Cape Clear to Hull."*

"On the 9th of July," says a recent British writer, "a Royal proclamation was issued, commanding all horses and cattle to be driven from the coast. Booms were placed across the entrance of Plymouth harbour, to prevent the approach of the French, and orders sent from the Admiralty to sink vessels at the mouth of the harbour. As one instance of the general alarm, a congregation, assembled for divine service near the coast, was thrown into the greatest perturbation by a voice exclaiming that the French had landed. Male and female leaped over the pews, and rushed out with loud cries, leaving the church wholly deserted, except by the minister, for the clerk too had fled, and a few of the military, who remained by command of the General of the district, who happened to be present on the occasion. The greatest consternation prevailed along the whole line of coast, and the greater number of those who had the means withdrew to the interior, and thereby increased the general panic. By the happy accident of an easterly wind, the enemy were prevented from completing the national disgrace by a descent upon our shores. Unable to anchor, or to preserve their stations, the combined fleet was driven down the Channel. The wind, soon after, coming round to the west, Sir Charles Hardy profited by the change to run up the Channel, when he was chased by the enemy into Spithead. Sir Charles found the inhabitants in as great alarm at Portsmouth as they had been at Plymouth. Boats were lying ready to cut away the buoys upon the different shoals, and the leading marks to direct ships between them were pulled up. If the French had actually effected a landing at either port, they would have encountered but few obstacles in their further progress. There was a most disgraceful deficiency of arms and ammunition. 'There were,' said the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, 'guns and shot, but neither one nor the other answered; all pieces of what are called small stores

* MS. letter in the Morris collection. As this sheet is passing through the press, (April 3, 1847,) a grand-nephew of Paul Jones, George L. Lowden, of South Carolina, has died in Philadelphia—a victim, it is feared, to that delay of hope to which every claimant on our government is exposed.

were totally wanting; there were neither handspikes to work the guns or give them the necessary direction, nor wadding, rammers, sponges, spring bottoms; nor, in short, any one part of the apparatus fit to meet an enemy. Even flints for muskets were wanting, and there were only thirty-five invalided artillerymen at Plymouth to man the batteries and to work two hundred guns.”*

Such was the testimony of a Peer of the Realm, of high character and position. It was faintly contradicted; yet the British historians of the American war, whilst publishing the statements of the destitution and wretchedness of the “rebel armies,” have rarely referred to this singular disorganization and alarm at home. Hillhouse and the brave students of Yale College showed quite as much spirit to encounter an enemy when Tryon landed, as did the orthodox parishioners on the coast of Devon when D’Orvilliers and his squadron were supposed to be in sight; and the garrison at Plymouth, with its accomplished equipment and its two hundred guns, would have made much less manly resistance than the raw militia behind the ruined platforms of Mud Fort.

This very general view of the state of affairs, both in America and on the other side of the Atlantic, is not out of place as an introduction to the correspondence of this year, which will now be resumed and tells its own story of difficulty and vexation. It relates in some degree to details of no very captivating interest, but no student can pretend to appreciate or comprehend the Revolution without a *précise* idea of these details, unattractive as they may be. No one reading President Reed’s correspondence, can fail to do justice to the

* I make this extract from an extremely interesting biography of Admiral Keppel, by the Honourable and Rev. Thomas Keppel, London, 1842, vol. ii. p. 243. Lord Keppel is an attractive character in British history; to Americans he should be especially so. In 1777, he declined serving on this station, saying decisively to the Admiralty, “If the necessities of the times call for my services, and it is the King’s desire, I am ready to do my duty, but *not in the line of America*,” (vol. ii. p. 2.) In 1755, Lord, (then Captain,) Keppel accompanied Braddock’s expedition to America, and his biographer has preserved some interesting letters from this country, (vol. i. chap. vi.)

ability with which these details of executive business were treated.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

[Without date.]

DEAR SIR,

I beg you to accept my thanks for your favours of the 28th and 29th ultimo, and the intelligence enclosed. I shall esteem such communications a particular mark of your regard, and if you could occasionally mix your own sentiments, as to the measures most advisable, it would add to the favour. My ideas upon the subject so perfectly correspond with yours, that I shall take every possible measures to put the militia in the best posture of preparation, though the unhappy disputes of the state have made government less vigorous than it would otherwise have been; however, I have the satisfaction to remark that they decline hourly, and of consequence the power of government will revive with renewed strength. I hear from good authority that the inhabitants of the country are very unanimous in their opinion against the measures of opposition, and as it has not become personal, at least on my part, I shall cheerfully overlook the abuse which has been attempted towards me, and make every advance towards peace, harmony, and mutual civility. — — — — —

Enclosed I send your Excellency General Potter's last letter.

The accounts from Wyoming, which Colonel Butler has transmitted to you, will doubtless bring to your mind the unhappy situation of our frontiers. From the communications you were so good as to make me at Head-Quarters, I have, without descending to particulars, encouraged our settlers in Westmoreland, Bedford, and Northumberland to stand their ground, and have ordered two hundred and fifty militia from the inner counties to march for their immediate protection, and in the mean time the Assembly has given such further encouragement as we hope will give spirit to the recruiting service of the five companies proposed. But as your Excellency well knows the delays that sometimes happen in the execution of orders, I hope you will not think me troublesome in requesting they may be repeated if necessary, excepting that General Hand's detachment would effectually cover Northumberland, and that a draught of militia to that quarter would only consume the provisions. I did not order any militia thither, and I fear this late movement will occasion an evacuation of that county unless General Hand has moved a part or the whole of his troops thither. I must also request you would direct the fragments of corps attached to Colonel Hartly's regiment to join, as I fear they have not paid due attention to your former directions on this subject.

I hope we shall have the river in a good posture. General Du Portail seems very well pleased, and all the necessary orders are given. I do not think a little apprehension will do us any harm, and therefore have made

such a use of your letter as may awaken, though not alarm our people to a sense of their true situation. A sordid spirit of gain, a spirit of animosity and selfishness was too prevalent for anything but an idea of danger; I can only lament that even good minds are tainted, in some instances too much tainted; call a thing trade, and let it be ever so seemingly unfair, and really prejudicial to the common interest, and it will make its way. Every arrival depreciates our currency; and I cannot learn that effectual measures are taken on this subject, or indeed any. Some of our principal people seem to think all danger over, and they must recover lost time and profits: hence all the passions of avarice and ambition were let loose; and they will scarcely believe that the day of our redemption is not at hand, and all farther efforts unnecessary. You will see by our proclamation of this day that we think very differently, and that while we hope we tremble too.* We

* This proclamation, dated 2d April, 1779, is characteristic :

Whereas there is just cause to believe that our cruel and inveterate enemies, despairing of the conquest of America by open and manly force, are about to adopt the mean and savage policy of distress and depredation. And as vigorous, firm and united resistance can alone (under Providence) enable us to disappoint and defeat their barbarous design, we do hereby most earnestly exhort the good people of this state to prepare themselves for such events. And we do particularly enjoin and require the General Officers, Lieutenants, Sub-Lieutenants, Field and other officers of militia, diligently to exert themselves in arraying, training and disciplining the militia of the state, as by law directed; enforcing the said law against all delinquents, and encouraging and animating, by their presence and example, those brave and faithful subjects who cheerfully stand forth in defence of the liberties of their country. We do also exhort and enjoin all officers, both civil and military, to make diligent search after the public arms and accoutrements which have been dispersed and lost through the country, and to recommend and endeavour to have all the fire-arms in their respective districts and counties put in the best repair, so as to be ready on the shortest notice. And as the designs of the enemy, so far as they may regard this state, must in their immediate effect (unless frustrated) desolate those parts exposed to the sea on one side, and the frontiers on the other, we do in a special manner recommend to the good people there residing the most particular attention to the several measures herein expressed, not doubting but those who are less exposed will pay all due regard to the alarming intentions of the enemy, and stand ready to support their friends and brethren, if necessary. And we do also, in a very especial manner, recommend a spirit of union, harmony, and mutual affection, as the most effectual weapon of defence—laying aside all animosities, dissensions, and uncharitableness, and then we need not doubt but (with the blessing of God) we may, as we have heretofore done, repel our invaders with shame, disgrace, and disappointment, and in a short time enjoy the blessings of peace on free and honourable terms.

Given by order of the Council, &c. &c.

JOSEPH REED, President.

Attest. T. MATLACK, Secretary.

God save the People.

are therefore resolved to pursue rigorously your advice to be prepared for the worst, and should it be necessary to call forth the militia of this state, I shall think it my duty to partake of their fatigues and dangers, and yield a cheerful and happy obedience to your orders.

Yesterday Mr. Peale's performance was placed with due respect in the Council Chamber, and an elegant one it is. He seems to have profited by his subject, and never did anything more to his honour as an artist.

Since I wrote the above, a joint committee of Council and Assembly met a committee of Congress on the affairs of this state, and with a view of removing jealousies and misunderstandings which have too much prevailed of late. I have the pleasure of informing you that there is an appearance of perfect harmony being restored; notwithstanding the utmost efforts of some gentlemen in Congress to prevent it. It is really melancholy to see with what unceasing perseverance some gentlemen endeavour to promote a breach between this state and Congress. A transaction this morning seems to confirm suspicions taken up formerly. Mr. Clymer, who is full in opposition here, and of the party with the commercial gentlemen of Congress, introduced a set of resolves to some gentlemen of the Assembly, expressing the sense of the state that the delegates should agree to any terms of peace, securing independence, and consistent with treaties with foreign powers, by no means insisting upon acquisitions of territory, or any splendid advantages. It appeared to me that our enemies would take so much encouragement from overtures of this kind, as tending to show the sense of one state of our weariness of the war, as might have fatal effects. I have therefore used my influence against it. My opinion clearly is that Congress ought to have the sole power of settling this business, and that it will be dangerous for any state to interpose its particular decision. But alas! we thirst after trade and luxury, and many wish to see their banished friends return in triumph.

I beg pardon for this tedious scrawl, and am, with the greatest respect, dear sir,

Your very obedient and affectionate humble servant.

WASHINGTON TO REED.

Middlebrook, April 8th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Your favour without a date, acknowledging the receipt of my letters of the 28th and 29th ultimo, came to hand a day or two ago—

The troops from Minisink were to begin their march for the enemy last Monday. The bad weather all the month of March, and an accident to one of my letters to General Hand, occasioned a delay of some days. Orders also went, (before the receipt of your letter,) to Gen. M'Dougall to put the remains of Patton's and Malcolm's regiments in motion for the same quarter.

The Board of War some time since has been applied to for a relief to Rawling's corps, that it might reinforce Brodhead, for the purpose mentioned to you when at Camp; but what they have done in the matter is unknown to me. I shall be very glad to know from time to time what progress is made in completing the five independent companies; and let me beseech you, my dear sir, while I am upon the subject of recruiting, to give the most pointed orders to those who are engaged in this service for your battalions to take no deserters. They weaken instead of strengthen the regiments, and not only rob the public of the bounty money, arms, accoutrements, and clothes which they receive, but poison the minds of other soldiers, and carry many of them to the enemy. In General Potter's letter, (now returned,) the propriety of offering land as an encouragement to men to enlist in the above companies, is suggested for your consideration. I have long been of opinion, founded on observation, that if the state bounties are continually increased for every short and temporary service and enlistment, that the price of men another year will be far above our purchase, and a final end will be put to recruiting, the consequences of which, under present appearances, are well worthy of consideration.

To hear that all party disputes had subsided, and that harmony (not only between Congress and the States, but between the discordant parts of the State,) was restored, would give me very singular pleasure. If party matters were at an end, and some happy expedient hit upon to check the further depreciation of our money, we should be soon left to the enjoyment of that peace and happiness which every good man must wish for, and none but the vitiated and abandoned tribe of speculators, &c., would be injured by.

If propositions have not been made to Congress by Great Britain, for negotiating a peace on the terms which have been held out to the Commissioners, upon what ground is the resolution you speak of founded? They surely do not mean to be the movers of a negotiation, before they know the terms that will be offered, or which can certainly be obtained? In a word, the whole matter (to me) is a mystery.

I am, with sincerity and truth,

Dear sir,

Your most obedient, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. *April 9th.*—I have accounts of the marching of Patton's and Malcolm's regiment, and that the troops from Minisink will be at Wyoming this night, if no accident happens to them.

Yours, &c.,

G. W.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, April 14th, 1779.

Your favour of the 8th was delivered me on Sunday, and I beg you to

accept my thanks for the attention to our distressed inhabitants on the frontiers. The support and comfort they will derive from it, will have the most happy effects, and confirm the hopes I have given them, that nothing will be omitted for their safety, consistent with the necessary caution and regard to be had to the defence of the sea coast. On Saturday we had an account of nine persons killed at Chilisquaque in Northumberland; and there were just reasons to apprehend an evacuation of the county would have ensued, but General Hand's movement to Wyoming, from whence I hope he will be able to spare a few men to take post at Fort Muncy, will, I am told, effectually cover that county. I have endeavoured to promote a spirit of union and good correspondence between our people and the inhabitants of Wyoming, under Connecticut. If your Excellency would, in your letters to Col. Butler, inculcate the same ideas, I think the effects would be beneficial to both. The Lieutenant of Northumberland complains that Colonel Butler gives him no information of the movements of the enemy. I enclose the last accounts received from Fort Pitt, to which I have only to add, that General M'Intosh, taking advantage, as I suppose, of the absence of the Governor of Detroit and the Indians on some expedition against Kentucky, has gone with 600 men to throw some provisions into Fort Laurens, which was only supplied to the 1st of April. I have directed regular returns to be made of the progress of the recruiting of the rangers. The officers of four companies are commissioned, supplied with money and recruiting orders, some time ago. The fifth company is to be raised in Lancaster, and we wait for the recommendation of the proper officers. In the mean time, they have raised three companies in Northumberland of thirty-five men each, for two months, from which I am informed the nine months company will soon be completed, the men preferring the terms of the latter.

In the recruiting instructions given to the rangers, we have expressly told the officers they will be deemed accountable for the moneys advanced to deserters of any kind, or expended on them. In recruiting for the Continental line, you may depend upon every precaution, as your Excellency must remember I ever opposed and disliked the practice. The heavy arrearages due by many officers on the recruiting account, will require some additional regulations and caution in future. I am told that in New England recruiting money is not put into the hands of any officer without a responsible freholder as a security for his faithfully accounting. As the recruiting service is profitable to the officer, the caution does not appear unreasonable; however, I have sometimes found the military gentlemen so tender, that I would not propose it without first asking your advice.

I am clearly of opinion, that Congress should, this spring, have fixed their ultimatums of bounty,—by increasing the allowance of land, and that all enlistments should be during the war. We have ever been of this sentiment in this State, and, therefore, gave the high bounty last year out of the State treasury. Other States went upon the short periods; now they have come up to the same, or rather exceeded us, with this difference also, that this

high bounty, as to them is paid by the United States, while we have borne the whole partiality, which, in my opinion, is highly unreasonable. Had every State done as Pennsylvania did, the army would have been much stronger and better, and there can be no justice or reason that we should pay our proportion for their mistaken policy. We have lately had a return of clothing issued to the officers last year, commencing 1st January, 1778, and ending 1st January, 1779, and we find there has been a suit of clothes issued to every officer of the Line; supposing us to have ten regiments, upon the new arrangement, and thirty-one suits over, besides shoes, shirts, &c., to a very large amount. I do not mean that every officer has had a suit; but that so many have been issued; and I propose to send the return to Camp, that it may be seen whether the clothiers have made a just return, and if so, that it may be seen what officers have gone beyond their just quota. I observe staff officers, and even wagon-masters have, by some means or another, got clothing out of the store. There have, I believe, been great abuses.

Officers who have been prisoners, are continually sending in their claims; they rely much upon your justice to them, and upon the Resolve of Congress of the 24th November, in their favour. I hope the gentlemen in Camp, will evince a proper generosity of sentiment upon this occasion, and not exclude brave men, who have, from their services and sufferings, every claim upon the gratitude and attention of their country.

I have now but one point more to trouble your Excellency with, and it is of considerable importance. A deputation has lately come from Massachusetts Bay; representing their great necessity for bread. We have a surplus in this State beyond our own wants, but it is very questionable whether we can afford a supply, without endangering the subsistence of the army. We had none but deputies of the most inferior rank to consult except Col. Stewart, Commissary of Issues. If it is not too troublesome, we should be obliged to your Excellency to call upon the Commissaries and then favour us with your opinions, by which we shall direct our answer.

I wish I could tell you, that any steps were taken to restore our sinking money, but alas! Mr. Deane's affairs take up all the time of Congress, or, at least, so great a part of it, as to leave little hopes of anything on that score at present. There is, at present, a scheme on the tapis, to send over quite a new set of Commissioners, and recall the old. Some gentlemen in Congress, who it is said are desirous of going abroad themselves, press this earnestly. The Board of War inform me they transmitted your letter to Governor Johnstone, with their request, that he would relieve Colonel Rawlins, but have received no answer.

The allusion in this letter to the application of Massachusetts for redress from the prohibitory legislation of Pennsylvania, and the decision on it, are curious illustrations of revolutionary policy. Both in 1776 and 1777, stringent embargoes on the

exportation of all provisions had been enacted, and continued in full force. It was part of the false policy of the times, and seems to have continued in favour during the greater part of the contest. On receiving the application from Massachusetts, President Reed communicated it to the Assembly, with a suggestion that the requisite powers of relaxation might be conferred on the Executive Council.* It was referred to a committee, which, however, never seems to have reported. To this false system of the worst restriction, as will be seen, Mr. Reed was uniformly and steadily opposed.

Again the cry of the distressed frontiers, praying for aid, reached the Executive.

GENERAL POTTER TO PRESIDENT REED.

Penn's Valley, April 17th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR favour of the 27th of March, in Council, and yours of the 3d of April, I received the one two days ago, and the other yesterday; it gives me pleasure to see that the business is left to Council, and General Washington. Your letters, I am convinced, will answer a very good end, encouraging the frontiers. They were much discouraged, and under great apprehensions of danger. But hearing of such preparations and supplies, will encourage them to make a stand, and I think, notwithstanding the preparations that have been made by the people to flee, they will stand the shock much better than they did last year. You give me pleasure by informing me that public dissensions decline, and that harmony seems likely to take place. God grant it may be so throughout the United States.

I am sorry that any calumny or reproach should be thrown on any character so undeserving of it as yours is, but such is the evil disposition of the world, that no good man, that does his duty in public life, can escape. Dear Sir, patience and perseverance in doing your duty, and acquitting a good conscience, will give ample satisfaction. Any reproach your enemies have endeavoured to throw on you, will end to their dishonour and your advantage.

You express your desire of relieving those poor people that have fled from the frontiers; they are so numerous and scattered over the country, that I cannot see anything that can be done for them, but leave them to the care of Heaven and good men.

* *Journals*, 350.

I see the Assembly have taken under their consideration the proprietary encroachments. I hope they will do what is right in regard of them, before this comes to hand. You will have heard of the attack on Wyoming, and Whitmore and his family being killed up Chilasquaque. I am, dear Sir, with great esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES POTTER.

P. S. Before I received your favour, I received a letter from General Washington, which gave me a full account of what he was determined to do for our relief, but I was not allowed to publish it.

WASHINGTON TO REED.

Head-quarters, Middlebrook, April 19th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have been honoured with yours of the 14th inst. I shall not fail to recommend to the officer who will command upon the Susquehanna, the cultivation of a good understanding between the settlers at Wyoming, and the inhabitants of Northumberland County.

Upon estimating the force necessary to be employed upon the intended expedition, so as to give the most probable assurance of success; I find that it will require more troops than can possibly be spared from the Continental army, without weakening our main body to that degree, that it will be ever liable to be insulted, if not materially injured, by the enemy, should they move out. I am, therefore, under the necessity of making application to the State of Pennsylvania, for the aid of six hundred militia, including the companies of Rangers, to continue in service three months from the 1st of June, if the laws or any power vested in the Executive Council will authorize the calling them out for so long a time. They must come provided with arms, as from the exhausted state of the Continental magazines, they cannot be supplied from thence. You will oblige me by letting me know as early as possible, whether this demand can be complied with, fully in point of terms of service, and if not, for the longest time that the men may be depended upon. They are to rendezvous at Sunbury by the 10th of May. I imagine the Western militia will be called out upon this service. They are infinitely to be preferred on many accounts, but particularly from their being used to the Indian mode of war, which is apt to make very fatal impressions upon men not acquainted with that kind of enemy.

I would not presume to nominate the officers who should take the command of this body of men, but I hope I shall stand excused, when I mention Brigadier-General Potter. From my knowledge of his abilities, and his acquaintance with the kind of service upon which these men are to be em-

ployed; I should be very happy, should the State think proper to confer the command upon him.

Upon the several hints given to me of the suspicions of Patterson's character, I have taken measures to prevent him from being mischievous, should he be so inclined, and I have desired that Colonel Cox may give him a caution against making a needless parade of the employ which he is in. He has nothing to do with the Quartermaster's department.

If I may be allowed to form any judgment from the actual returns and reports of the Commissaries, of the quantity of flour in the middle department, I should suppose that the army must be much distressed for the article of bread, should such an exportation as I imagine the State of Massachusetts will require, be allowed. If the quantity wanted to the eastward is ascertained, the Commissary-General can better determine whether any part, or what part of it can be spared without injury to the service.

By a letter which I have received from General M^cIntosh, dated at Fort Pitt the 3d inst., I have the pleasure to find that he had returned to that place, after having relieved Fort Laurens, and thrown a proper supply of provisions into it. He adds that he had found some of the Indian tribes more friendly than he expected.

A co-operation by the troops at Fort Pitt, and in that quarter not being deemed either very practicable or of much use, the force at present there will remain. This I hope, with the assistance of the militia, should there be occasion, will cover your Western Frontier, and that of Virginia.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL HAND.

Philadelphia, April 21st, 1779.

SIR,

Your favour of the 16th* inst. I duly received, and observe, with some concern, that you apprehend the station you are directed to take, will not afford protection to the distressed frontiers of Pennsylvania. After the several conferences this winter, between Congress and the Assembly, the defence of the frontiers was referred to the Commander-in-chief, and the Council of the State, upon which I went to Camp to confer with his Excellency on the subject, who communicated to me, very fully, his ideas on the subject; one material, and as I understood, a determined part of the system, was, that

* Not in my possession. General Hand's letters are probably in the Executive's Archives at Harrisburg.

the troops under your command should be withdrawn from the State of New York, and take post at Wyoming, and such parts of Northumberland County as would give all the protection to the frontiers which stationary forces can do. This idea has been preserved in all the letters which I have received from his Excellency since that time. I cannot help, therefore, believing that there must be some misapprehension which ought to be immediately removed; and I am the more confirmed in this opinion, as it was concluded between us, that no militia should be sent to Northumberland, as they would not be necessary, and would consume the provisions. Hence when militia was ordered to Bedford and Westmoreland, none were sent to Northumberland. Depending also upon the troops under you covering that country effectually, I wrote to the inhabitants there encouraging them to remain on their farms, and assuring them that they would receive ample protection. It will therefore be a distressing circumstance to them, and mortifying to me, if, after all these assurances, they are left to take care of themselves.

This certainly was not General Washington's intention when I saw him last week, and as a few men posted at Muncy, in conjunction with those of Wyoming, will give the people great encouragement, I hope that will be done, until more explicit orders are obtained from the Commander-in-chief.

It seems peculiarly hard upon Pennsylvania that her troops should be drawn both ways to defend Virginia and New York while the wide interval has only had the weak regiment of Hartley for its protection, and few of them tolerable woodsmen. Colonel Butler is now here, and I am not certain that the regiment late Hartley's has any field officers. As soon, therefore, as your private affairs will admit, we hope you will return to the troops. The distressing accounts we constantly have, and the complaints made by the inhabitants of the frontiers of being neglected by us, will undoubtedly prove a powerful incentive to you, and account for my anxiety on this occasion.

I shall immediately write to General Washington on the subject, and shall be glad to hear further from you. For if you cannot pay much attention to Sunbury and the contiguous settlements, we have been led into a most lamentable error, which may prove fatal to the inhabitants of that country, who have been assured that such attention would be paid them, and have in consequence remained there.

P. S. In your next I shall be glad to know what number of men you have and where they are posted, that our measures may be taken accordingly, so far as the communication may be consistent with your instructions and propriety.

CHAPTER IV.

1779.

Correspondence of the Executive Council with Washington—Arnold's Trial—Defence of the frontiers—Mr. Reed's Letters to Washington, 24th and 25th April, 1779—Recommendation of General Potter—Washington's Letter 27th April, as to Arnold—Court Martial ordered—Reed's Letter to Washington, May 1st—Silas Deane's affairs—American Commissioners—Washington's Letter, May 8—Reply of Council—Expedition against the Indians—Irregularities of Continental officers—Washington to the Council, May 20th—Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians.

THE investigation of the delinquencies imputed to Arnold by the authorities of Pennsylvania, has been already alluded to. Much of the following correspondence will be found to refer to its details, and to the embarrassments which accident, rather than design, threw in the way of this inquiry, which as I have stated having begun before Mr. Reed's accession to the Presidency, was fearlessly and resolutely carried by him and the Council to a result. To understand clearly the difficulties which are apparent in this part of the correspondence, which often is formal, and sometimes a little harsh in its tone, it should be borne in mind that Arnold was all the time secretly and assiduously writing to the Commander-in-chief, not only protesting his innocence, but imputing sinister motives and policy to his distant accusers. When it suited his purposes of defamation, Arnold described the President as a degraded man, unsustained by public sentiment, and solitary in his persecutions. When another exigency presented itself, Mr. Reed's influence was exaggerated, and he was described as the master of Congress, as well as of the State. "Mr. Reed," said Arnold, in a letter to Washington, "has by his address kept the affair in suspense for two months, and at last obtained the Resolution of Congress

directing the Court Martial." All these letters, unknown at the time, have since been published, and account for much that unexplained was calculated to excite unpleasant feeling in the minds even of the least tenacious.* All this time it must be remembered no suspicion of Arnold's deeper crime was harboured. The Executive Council seem to have been determined that no technical artifice should place them in a false or even doubtful position, or draw them down from the platform of state authority to the level of an informer or common prosecutor. They resolutely maintained their position, and though, as will be seen, on the verge occasionally of unpleasant conflict with the Commander-in-chief, they persevered to the end, and had reason to be fully content with the result. It should be added, and it will be very apparent in the private correspondence, that there was at no time any abatement of personal friendliness arising out of this official discussion.

The affairs of the frontiers, as will be seen, continued painfully to occupy attention. The arm of the Nation was at last raised, and then, and not till then, was the restless spirit of the savages effectually crushed.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

In Council, Philadelphia, April 24, 1779.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letter of the 20th instant has been laid before the Board, informing us that a Court Martial will be held at Camp on the 1st of May next for the trial of General Arnold on the first, second, third, and fifth charges exhibited against him by this Board.

We apprehend there must have been some mistake in the mode of transmitting this business to your Excellency, as we never exhibited any other charge against General Arnold to Congress than that of appropriating the public wagons of the State to private uses; and that only that he may remain to answer. Nor do we think it by any means consistent with the duty we owe the State, to be considered in the light of parties, as thereby we may establish a principle under which we must submit silently to injuries

* Appendix to Volume vi. of Sparks' Washington. During nearly the whole time over which this extends, Arnold was busily engaged in his treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton.

and insults, or follow military courts into any part of the country, wherever the service may require the army to be.

The light in which we have ever considered ourselves, and which we could wish to be considered by your Excellency, is as a public body, the representation of the freemen of Pennsylvania, expressing our opinion of General Arnold's conduct, founded on facts disclosed to us, and arising from our own knowledge, asking nothing of Congress, but that he should not continue to command in this State. The history of this country affords many instances of this proceeding in the cases of oppressive governors; and it is a right which we hold ourselves, independent of, and unaccountable to, any other power. No one doubts the right of a public body to praise, and this shows strongly they have a power to censure, it only operating as an opinion, unaccompanied with any punishment. In the present instance, General Arnold refused to give any explanation of his conduct, though civilly requested; or ever offered to disprove the facts alleged; of course we were obliged to exercise our judgments upon the evidence and proofs we had. We perfectly approve the trial, at the same time being of opinion that General Arnold's conduct deserves some military reprehension, and we doubt not the officers of the army will impartially weigh the duty they owe the country, as well as the person charged, and if the facts are proved, let the palliating circumstances, if there be any, operate in the sentence, not on the nature of the transaction. Such is the dependence of the army upon the transportation of this state; and such the feelings of the people upon this sort of duty, that should the Court treat it as a light and trivial matter, and found an opinion upon any other ground than the innocence of the charge, we fear it will not be practicable to draw forth wagons in future, be the emergency what it may, and will have very bad consequences.

We could have wished your Excellency had appointed a later day, or we could have had earlier notice. Your letter is dated the 20th instant, and was not received till the 22d, and considering the distance of some of the witnesses, we fear it will not be possible to give them notice, much less to procure their attendance, and, we presume, no *ex parte* testimony ought to be received by the Court. Our view of the matter was, and it was so considered by the joint committees, that we should transmit the papers to your Excellency, and inform you of the names of the witnesses to prove the several points; that then your Excellency, either by your own authority or that of Congress, would have procured the attendance of the witnesses, who are two officers of Congress not in any respect under our control, of which we informed Congress, requesting they might not proceed to Carolina till their testimony could be had. No notice was taken of it, and they set off about a week ago, and, as we have reason to think, with a view to be absent till the trial is over. Colonel Fitzgerald, who is also a material witness, we suppose is in Virginia.

As substantial justice, not a mere formality, will be undoubtedly your Excellency's object on this occasion, we submit to your Excellency's judg-

ment whether a competent time for the attendance of the witnesses, at least who are within reach, and the adjustment of some previous points, will not make a further day necessary. These points are, at whose expense and by whose procurement are the witnesses to be had; and whether the service will not admit of the setting of the Court at some nearer place than Camp if that cannot be, we must rely upon your Excellency to give some directions for the accommodation of the persons who may attend in behalf of the prosecution. As the idea expressed in your Excellency's letter does not correspond with the resolve of Congress transmitted to us, and differs from that entertained by the joint Committee of Congress, Council, and Assembly, in which it was expressly declared, that this Board was not to be considered as a party, we trust the proceedings in the business will conform to this idea, otherwise besides the inconvenience above mentioned we shall be liable to a charge of inconsistency not well founded.

P. S. By the time this will reach your Excellency there will remain but three days, so that we shall be glad to have as early an answer as possible, or we beg leave to assure you that no other delay is sought, but what is necessary to proceed to business with effect.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

In Council, Philadelphia, April 25th, 1779.

I am to thank you for your favour of the 19th instant, and hope the state I am about to give of our affairs will in some degree answer to your Excellency's satisfaction the most important parts of your letter. As soon as I returned to Camp, orders were issued for calling two hundred and fifty militia from the inner counties for the protection of Bedford and Westmoreland, those counties being much exposed; at that time little expectations from Fort Hill or its neighbourhood. We also made the appointments for the corps of the rangers, which at its full complement will be three hundred and eighty men. These are now recruiting, and we hope with considerable success, but we cannot flatter ourselves that they will be complete by the 10th of May. Nor, from the forms to be complied with in the militia law, do we suppose the militia are more than prepared to march.

If, therefore, as is mentioned in the last clause of your Excellency's letter, the co-operation of the troops from Fort Hill is laid aside, perhaps the assistance intended by these militia to Bedford and Westmoreland may be given from Fort Hill, and the militia ordered to proceed to Sunbury directly. By these means a body of men may be had in season, which otherwise we cannot expect. But after the assurances given those counties of protection from the militia, we fear it would give great disgust if we should change

their destination without supplying their places. I mentioned in a former letter that the inhabitants of Northumberland had raised three companies at their own expense of thirty-five men each, which I suppose will be ready by the time proposed. The law does not allow the keeping the militia out longer than two months at one time, nor have we a power of prolonging it on any pretence whatever. As to bringing their arms, it will generally be impracticable; we must endeavour to supply them in some way or other.

Your Excellency must recollect that in 1776 and 1777, when the militia were discharged, their arms were ordered to be left; they have never been replaced, nor have the people had an opportunity to get new ones; hence, whenever the militia are called upon there is a general and real deficiency which we are endeavouring to supply as fast as possible. But unfortunately we have a peculation, that of carrying off the arms when provided by the public, circumstances which keep us very needy, and are attended with many bad consequences. I should mislead your Excellency if I promised a term of service longer than two months, and to call out the militia of these frontier counties at this time, would defeat one principal benefit intended them, viz., the giving them an opportunity to sow and plant, without which they must leave their farms for want of bread, be the issue of the expedition ever so successful.

We perfectly agree with your Excellency in your opinion of General Potter, and shall most cheerfully put the command of these troops into his hands from every motive of propriety and confidence.

I am obliged to your Excellency for your communications respecting flour. We have lately been applied to from Bermudas on the same account, but we are very unwilling to listen to their applications till a moral certainty can be obtained of our compliance not endangering the army.

General M'Intosh is arrived in town, but I have not had the pleasure of seeing him, except once in the street, and he was so much altered that I did not know him till he was past. We have been at a very great expense in sending stores of all kinds up to Fort Pitt, and as that part of the plan is altered, which seemed to require a collection of troops there, I hope they may be used in some such way as to check the temporary ravages of the Indians; at least affording Westmoreland complete protection.

I lately received the letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, from General Hand; if the movement takes place at the time mentioned in your Excellency's letter, or near it, our apprehensions for Northumberland will be removed, otherwise I fully understood that his detachment would be so stationed as to cover Wyoming and that country, until an offensive movement should take place, which was expected to afford the most effectual protection.

No State has suffered so much upon its frontiers as this has, and if the depredations continue this year, the present interior parts will be the frontier, and as we bear so great a part of the Continental burthen, both in men and service, your Excellency will I am sure think with us that we are entitled

to a proportionable attention; and we think it better to apprise your Excellency now, than that any dissatisfaction should appear afterwards, if the Pennsylvania troops are drawn off on each side, especially towards New York, which does so little for itself, and the interval exposed. This is a sentiment not drawn from us by any doubt of an equal protection being extended as times and circumstances will admit, but by the uneasiness expressed this spring. Nor have we the least idea of retaining troops as stationary, unless the proposed expedition should be laid aside, or some accident occasion a division of the troops and a resuming of stations, in which case we rely fully upon your justice and judgment to dispose them so as that equal benefit may result to all, and respect be had to the abilities and exertions of each state exposed. Since writing the above, General M'Intosh has called upon me. I could have wished to have had a longer conversation with him, but his business calls him out of town very soon. I only had half an hour of his company. I hope he will be able to give your Excellency a satisfactory state of things in that quarter.

WASHINGTON TO REED.

Head-Quarters, Middlebrook, April 27, 1779.

In a line of yesterday, as I did not think it proper to detain the express, and delay the notice then given, till I could prepare a more explicit answer, I only briefly acknowledged the receipt of your two letters in Council of the 24th and 25th instant, to which I should have added that of the 26th. I am now to enter into a consideration of their contents, and to offer such particular explanations as may seem necessary to satisfy any doubts which the honourable the Council may entertain on the subjects they respectively discuss.

The first relates wholly to the trial of Major-General Arnold. It is with concern I observe, that the Council appear to have misconceived the intention of the notifications contained in my letter of the 20th, and to imagine that I had taken up the matter in a different point of view from that in which it is considered by Congress and by themselves, placing them in the light of a party in the prosecution. I flatter myself that, on a revival of my letter and of the resolve of Congress on which it is founded, this opinion will be readily retracted. The resolve, of which the enclosed is a copy, directs me to appoint "a court martial for the trial of General Arnold, on the first, second, third, and fifth articles contained in the Resolves of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and to notify them of it, with a request that they would furnish the evidence to the court." My letter was intended as a simple compliance with this order, and accordingly informs them that I had directed a court to be held at this camp on the 1st of May next, for the trial of Major-General Arnold on the first, second, third, and fifth charges exhibited against him by the Council, requesting that they would be pleased to furnish the Court

at the appointed time with the proper evidence in support of the charges. The terms of this letter were such as in common speaking naturally presented themselves to express what was intended; because the charges there said to be exhibited by the Council, though in their present form they are instituted by the authority of Congress, originated in the resolves of the Council, of which they compose a part. But if they contain any ambiguity, or seem to imply more than those of the resolve, it is entirely to be ascribed to inadvertence, and to a want of precision. It will easily be seen, that they could not be meant to convey the idea supposed, when it is recollected to be a fundamental maxim in our military trials, that the judge-advocate prosecutes in the name and in behalf of the United States. But as it is customary and reasonable for those who exhibit informations on which charges are founded, to produce or point out the witnesses necessary to support them, and enable public justice to operate; on this principle I presume Congress directed the notification which has been made, and in the same spirit was my intention to convey it. Further than this, I had no idea of considering the Council as a party.

My motives for appointing the trial to take place at so short a period were these: the season is fast advancing when we shall be under the necessity of taking the field; and as it is at most times very inconvenient—in the present state of the army impracticable—to spare a sufficient number of officers of high rank to compose a court at a distance from Camp, and almost equally so to be carrying on a long and perhaps complicated trial in the midst of the operations of a campaign, it was my wish to bring it on at once, in hopes it might be concluded before they began. This was one reason, and to me a weighty one. Another was that General Arnold had written to me in a very pressing manner, requesting the trial might commence as soon as possible. Uninformed of the particular circumstances which might require delay, and considering it as my duty to accelerate the execution of justice, as well to the public in case of real guilt, as to the individual if innocent, I could have no objection to complying with his request. As the affair has been a considerable time in agitation, I took it for granted the Council were acquainted with the order of Congress for appointing a court. I concluded the witnesses would be prepared, and that little time was necessary to collect them. The remoteness of the persons alluded to I could not foresee. The affair of the two officers is entirely new to me; nor did it ever occur to my mind as probable, that the two gentlemen, whom I conjecture to be hinted at, were intended to be summoned as witnesses on the side of the prosecution.

I can assure the Council, with the greatest truth, that “substantial justice, not a mere formality, will undoubtedly be my object on this occasion.” I shall endeavour to act, and I wish to be considered merely as a public executive officer, alike unbiassed by personal favour or resentment, and having no other end in view than a faithful, ingenuous discharge of his duty. To obviate the remotest appearance of a different disposition, as well as to give

the freest operation to truth, I have determined to defer the trial till the 1st of June, if it is thought the most material witnesses can be produced by that time; or till the 1st of July, if it is deemed necessary to await the arrival of the two officers from Carolina.

I am therefore to request of the Council information on this head, and that they will be pleased to point out without delay the persons who are to be called as witnesses in the affair. Where my authority will produce their attendance, it is my duty to exercise it; where I have no right to order, I can only request; but where any citizens of the state of Pennsylvania are concerned, I doubt not the Council will employ its influence and authority to induce their appearance.

As to the officers who may compose the court martial, I trust the respectability of their characters will put their honour and impartiality out of the reach of suspicion. The expense of witnesses, as the prosecution is in behalf of the United States, I take it for granted will be borne by them. Whether it will be possible for the court to sit at or near Philadelphia, depends upon circumstances which cannot now be foreseen: at this time it could not by any means be done; if it can be done hereafter without any prejudice to the service, it will be very agreeable to me. The mode of conducting the trial will be strictly conformable to the orders of Congress and to the sentiments I have now expressed; and I hope will not be thought in any degree to deviate from the respect due to the Council.

It gives me much pain to find by your letter of the 26th, that there is not a better prospect of aid from the militia of your state in the intended Indian expedition. The drawing out the militia into service will no doubt interfere with the culture of the lands, and it were to be wished that it could be avoided. But the reduced state of our regiments and the little apparent probability of augmenting them will not allow me to prosecute a vigorous offensive operation to the westward, wholly with Continental troops, without weakening the main army so much as to put everything to hazard this way. Influenced by considerations of this nature, I applied to your state for six hundred men; to New York for an undeterminate number, which has voted one thousand to be employed on the frontier also; and to New Jersey to replace as far as was thought proper the Continental troops now stationed on the coast which will of necessity be withdrawn. If these applications have not the desired effect, bad as the consequences may be, I can only wish what I am unable to accomplish, and regret that it is not in my power to prevent.

Notwithstanding the cautious terms in which the idea is conveyed, I beg leave to express my sensibility to the suggestion contained, not only in your letter of the 25th, but in a former one, that the frontier of Pennsylvania is left unguarded and exposed, while that of some other states is covered and protected. Nor can I be less affected by the manner of the application for stationary troops, in case the proposed expedition should be laid aside, an event which I could hardly have thought supposable. I am not conscious

of the least partiality to one state or neglect of another. If any one has cause to complain of the latter it is Virginia, whose wide extended frontier has had no cover but from troops more immediately beneficial to the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, which besides this has had its northern frontier covered by Spencer's, Pulaski's, and Armand's corps; its middle by Hartley's and some independent companies. That these troops were unequal to the task is not to be denied, nor that a greater number was sent at the close of last campaign to the western frontier of New York. But, for the former the scantiness of our means is sufficient reason. If the abilities and resources of the states cannot furnish a more competent force, assailable as we are on all sides, they will surely be more just than to expect from the army protection at every point. As to the latter, those troops were not sent to be stationary. The repeated accounts transmitted by Congress and received from other quarters of the ravages actually committed, and the still greater ones threatened on the western frontier of that state, occasioned so considerable a detachment with a view to some offensive operations in the winter. But these through unforeseen impediments we were obliged to lay aside. All these troops, except the garrison of Fort Schuyler, are now destined for the Indian expedition, and are preparing for it.

I have been thus particular from a scrupulous desire to show that no part of my conduct indicates a predilection to one state more than to another; but that, as far as the means in my hands will extend, I aim equally at the security and welfare of all. This is only to be obtained by rigorous exertions, and in the present case these must depend on the aid which the states most interested will give. With great esteem and respect, I am, sir, &c.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1779.

I received your favour of the 27th April this afternoon, and the Council having adjourned to Monday, when it will be laid before them and an official answer given, I could not rest satisfied without immediately in a private way endeavouring to remove some of those impressions which seem to have been made from a misconception of our last, different from what I am confident was intended. It would be too tedious and irksome to trouble you with a repetition of the complaints which have poured in upon us from the frontiers ever since the Indians have begun their depredations: our letters from thence are full of them, with pathetic apprehensions that they are neglected by government. We have endeavoured to remove them, and have at all times held forth assurances and endeavoured to convince them that all attention was paid to them consistent with the general safety, but your Excellency must know from experience how difficult it is to draw the eyes of people from their own immediate danger to distant and general

objects. As you generally read the newspapers, you will see in one of the 24th ultimo, some very strong insinuations and very unjust ones; but I only mention these as a specimen of what we have had laid before us. I wrote the piece signed the "Pennsylvanian" on the 29th, and it is the first anonymous piece I have wrote in the newspapers since the 1st December last.* When we therefore addressed your Excellency, I am confident nothing further was intended than to disclose the anxiety and sentiments of those people, that being apprised of them they might be counteracted and removed as much as possible. When all the Continental troops, except Hartley's small regiment, were last year drawn off on one side to carry on the expedition against Fort Pitt, and on the other to the Mohawk River, by which the extended frontier of Pennsylvania was necessarily exposed, though a procedure sufficiently justified to all acquainted with real circumstances and intentions, yet I think your Excellency will be of opinion with me that to those unacquainted with these circumstances it had an appearance of hardship; and it left an unfavourable effect which we have steadily endeavoured to remove, as all our letters will demonstrate; and knowing the candour with which you receive all kinds of information, we thought it would be more agreeable and useful to mention it, in a private letter, than that any of this spirit should appear in public. If we have judged wrong and given you a moment's pain, I do assure you it will give us lasting concern, as I am authorized to say that it is impossible for any human being to possess more entirely the confidence of a public body than you do of ours, both Council and Assembly. I have endeavoured to learn the author of the piece alluded to above, but without success farther than that it was transmitted from the frontiers to the press. My own sentiments so far as they have any influence are fully contained in the answer, and as I have in this instance broke through a rule I had laid down of not writing in the papers, I shall contract in the same manner any future publications.

I enclose you copies of two letters received this day;—we receive the like every week, only many of them contain freer sentiments than Colonel Hunter's, who, being a great partisan of the present government, sees our conduct through a favourable medium. With this explanation, therefore, I hope our letter will be taken, as giving information and expressing our desires, not intimating doubts or distrusts, which we do not harbour. Though we cannot help causeless complaints, we should wish to give as little colour to them as possible.

I believe the train in which General Arnold's affair is put, will be quite acceptable, and Colonel Fitzgerald having accidentally come to town, since our letter, we shall by that means save considerable time. One of the gentlemen gone to Carolina having wrote a letter at Darby, to General Arnold, which the messenger lost on the road, it was brought to me open; from this it appears to me very probable that they are designedly absent, and if so, it

* Pennsylvania Packet, April 29, 1779.

will be vain to delay on their account, as it is not likely they would obey any summons within a reasonable time. Having informed Congress previously to their departure, and requested they might be detained for examination, we have done all in our power; if the trial cannot be completed without their testimony, it is probable the court may adjourn it. We have nothing in view, but public justice. But there appears such a connexion between their knowledge of sundry facts, and the testimony we are possessed of, that I doubt whether their attendance will not be found necessary in the sequel. The proposition of the court martial came from us, by which we gave the fullest proof of our confidence in the gentlemen of the army. We were desirous that all the points might go to that tribunal, but Congress thought otherwise, and selected such as they thought proper. — — — If there are officers enough without, it would be most satisfactory to avoid a single character thus circumstanced. As the matter now stands, I think upon three weeks' notice at any time of the precise day the trial may be proceeded on.

I profess I am at a loss how we shall proceed when the witnesses are unwilling to attend. Congress have declined exercising any compulsory power over their officers on the occasion; and there is no process of civil law, to compel an attendance on a military court, and especially out of the State, nor is there any power to oblige a witness to submit to examination out of Court. However, I do not know that further time will remedy these evils, so that we must proceed under them. The trial here, or in the neighbourhood of this city, would have obviated them in a degree; but that I am persuaded would be incompatible with the public service, and is not to be desired or expected. Some persons here have affected to treat the using public wagons, for private uses, as a trifling and inconsiderable matter;—lest the same idea might be propagated at Camp, we thought it necessary to mention, that it is thought of high consequence in this State, and that a contrary sentiment, inadvertently, and hastily adopted, would be attended with very injurious consequences to the public. I believe nothing further was meant.

I am much obliged to you for your sentiments as to the people of Bermudas; they have settled mine, which I acknowledge were fluctuating between the hardships of refusal, and the danger of concession. What you have suggested appears to me quite decisive and unanswerable. Since my last, there have been three more applications of the like kind from the same quarter. Our coasts are now pretty clear, and vessels arriving, but, I am sorry to say, with little effect on prices. All is at a stand, no buyers; a few more arrivals or captures by the enemy, will turn the scale either way. The disputes about our Commissioners abroad, have taken up much of the time of Congress, which many think might have been more usefully spent, in devising ways and means to restore public credit. There was a question to call them all home, and send out a new set; then it was divided, and they were taken singly. Dr. Franklin was confirmed, by a very small majority

of those who dislike Mr. Deane. The fate of the others is not yet known. No authentic accounts from Carolina, though there are many reports.

P. S. The proposition of offering a reward for Indian prisoners, and a less one for scalps of Indians only is revived. We shall do nothing in it without your advice. I fear we shall be forced into it whether we like it or not.

WASHINGTON TO PRESIDENT REED.

Head-Quarters, Middlebrook, May 8th, 1779.

I have delayed acknowledging the receipt of your favour of the 1st, in expectation that it would soon be followed by an official one which would enable me to take final measures on the subject of the trial.

The explanation with which you have obliged me gives me pleasure in the same proportion as the disagreeable inferences I had drawn gave me pain. It wounds me sensibly to see appearances of distrust of my equal attention to the security and welfare of the different States; and my ardent desire to cultivate mutual confidence and harmony with every one will always make me glad to find any apprehensions I may entertain on this delicate object unfounded.

I am also happy to find it your opinion that the footing on which General Arnold's trial is now put will be agreeable. If the Council think the needful testimony can be ready by the 1st of June, it will come on then. As I do not hear from them, and time is slipping away fast, I enclose a letter to General Arnold, fixing the trial at that day week; you will be pleased to have it delivered to him in case it corresponds with the sense of the Council; otherwise it is to be returned to me, but at all events I beg you will press a decision, as General Arnold has again signified his anxious desire to me that the trial may be brought on, as the sooner it is, the more convenient it will be to our military arrangements.

Speaking of witnesses, you say Congress have declined exercising any compulsory power over their officers on the occasion; where any person in the military line is summoned, as I mentioned in my letter to the Council, it is my duty to order their attendance, which I shall of course do. With respect to these, therefore, the interposition of Congress would be unnecessary.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

In Council, Philadelphia, May 8th, 1779.

Your favour of the 27th ultimo has been considered by us with that attention and respect justly due to it; and we are extremely sorry to find that the expressions of solicitude for the safety of our distressed inhabitants on the frontiers and our anxiety to prevent future calamities should have given you pain. We hoped we had expressed ourselves with so much caution on this occasion that every unacceptable idea would have been fully excluded. Be assured, sir, our intentions were only to convey to you the sense of the people in those afflicted counties, presuming it would be much more agreeable to receive it in this way than from newspapers, formal applications, or painful remonstrances. And we did it the more readily, as we ever understood it to be a distinguishing part of your Excellency's character to seek for every sort of information, and more especially that which might prevent evils and guard against dissatisfaction, whether well or ill founded. If the manner of doing it did not correspond with our intention, we would wish you to ascribe it to any other cause than a diminution of that confidence and attachment of which we have given professions, not less sincere than they were public. And retaining still the same opinion of your Excellency's candour and judgment, we submit it whether the expectations of a state for security and protection are not mutually limited or extended according to its own exertions and the force it furnished to the common cause. If its supplies of men and other military means are ample, and the burden heavy, expectations will rise proportionately. If we are to judge of the contingent furnished to the Continental army from this state by the applications made to us to partake of the bounties and indulgences lately given by this State to the troops, we must hold a respectable place in the military line. We have twelve regiments including artillery in the line, equally filled with any other state, and much superior to some. We have a greater proportion raised for the war, (as we are informed,) than any other; besides this, a regiment of horse, the invalid corps, or at least two-thirds of it, the provost corps, and the half of the German battalion, all have put in their claims, making in the whole a very considerable body. We do not say anything of the artificers, manufacturers, &c., or the transportation afforded by this state, though forming a very considerable part of the public burdens, and being the principal dependence of the army, they naturally give the people of the State a sense of their importance, and would, (if the occasion should happen,) make them feel very sensibly any hardships which might arise from an unequal distribution of protection. That we have been by far the greatest sufferers on the frontiers, have had

more people killed, and more country desolated, we presume cannot be doubted.

If Virginia and the other States have suffered by the ravages of the Indians in any proportion to this state, the particulars have never reached us, and as the idea of our receiving any protection from Armand's and Pulaski's corps must have arisen from some misapprehension or mistake, we beg leave to assure your Excellency that we never derived the least benefit from them, but on the other hand, are still smarting under their abuse and desolation, the complaints of which were suppressed, and complainants persuaded to bear with patience their losses and sufferings.

We apprehend that were the affairs of the frontiers of Pennsylvania more fully known to your Excellency, it would in some degree remove the idea of our southwestern or northern frontier having been so effectually covered; the waste of country and evacuation of large and flourishing settlements, whose inhabitants, as General M'Intosh and others assure us, are going down the Ohio daily to settle elsewhere, give but too melancholy a proof of their exposed and dangerous situation, and that they think their new settlements afford a better prospect of safety. But as discussions of this nature seem to give pain where we would always wish to excite contrary sensations, we shall avoid them in future, and endeavour to remove from the minds of the sufferers any doubts and apprehensions, which being the natural effects of ruin and distress, will claim our pity, however groundless at this distance they may appear.

We heartily wish success to the proposed expedition, and shall do every thing in our power to promote it. It is our interest so to do, for if it should terminate as the one last year did from Fort Pitt, our western country will be in a most deplorable situation, and the State little short of ruin. When we therefore suggested an idea that it might be laid aside, we did not suppose that it would be so: but regarding the possibility of such an event, from the difficulty of combining all the circumstances necessary to its progress and success, we thought it our duty to lay our expectations and wishes before you, that we might avoid any complaint in future from the inhabitants of that country. And we shall esteem ourselves peculiarly unfortunate if the mode of doing it, should, in any degree, have counteracted our own wishes and intentions.

We have kept from public view most of the accounts we have received, but that your Excellency may form a more just judgment of our situation, we have selected a few from men of the most note in the country, which have just come to hand. When you have considered them, and also that we have a discontented party in the State, seeking every occasion to disparage the Government, we flatter ourselves you will allow for our feelings and anxieties. To us the inhabitants look in the first instance, and upon us the odium and blame will fall, if, after holding out hopes of safety to them, they should find themselves disappointed, though from causes unforeseen and unavoidable.

Your Excellency has observed "that if the resources of the States cannot furnish a competent force for complete defence, they will be more just than to expect from the army protection in every point." We feel the justice of the remark, but our expectations go no farther than protection in proportion to the troops furnished by the State to the army. If from seeing the regiments of Pennsylvania drawn off on both sides, and forming part of the protection of New York and Virginia, while no other troops from any other State formed a part of ours, an undue inference has been drawn of our strength and numbers, we readily admit it to be unjust and groundless, for the circumstances alone can, by no means, warrant it; but whatever the resources of all the States, collectively, may be, each will, we conceive, expect an attention individually according to its resources, and its exertions. We are perfectly satisfied with the motives which have induced your Excellency to lay aside the co-operation of the troops from Fort Pitt, nor should we have troubled you with any observations thereupon, if it had not been suggested to us that in this case a smaller garrison might perhaps be sufficient for Fort Pitt, and some of Brodhead's people, without inconvenience, spared to Westmoreland, so as to make the militia there less necessary, but as you seem to think any diminution of the strength at that post hazardous, we readily acquiesce.

The transaction respecting General Arnold is put upon a footing so satisfactory to us that we regret the misconception, which seems to have taken place, of our ideas upon it. It is apparent to us that your Excellency has not understood us. We think there is a material difference between a public body exhibiting charges against a man, to his superior officers or authority, and expressing their sense of his conduct, and assigning their reasons for it. In the first case they virtually offer them as prosecutors appeal to some tribunal, and claim the infliction of the punishment annexed by civil or military law on the offences charged. In the other case they give an opinion operating only as the world shall give it weight, drawing with it no military or civil punishment. In this last view we acted in this business, and considering ourselves entitled to appear, in either capacity, it was matter of concern to us to see that the idea which was carefully excluded, as we thought, from the resolution of Congress, appeared in your Excellency's letter, that a trial was directed on the second, third, and fifth *charges exhibited by the Council against him*. Our wish was to be understood, not as having exhibited any charges to Congress, or yourself, against him, except that of abusing wagons, and that only that he might remain to answer. And though at first view it may seem a refinement, yet, if your Excellency will reflect upon the consequences, you will see they are very important. For if, by a public body, expressing their sense of an officer's conduct, they are to be considered as exhibiting charges against him to superior authority, it will follow, that they become his prosecutors, must support the charges, attend any tribunal, however distant, inconvenient, or prejudicial to other public affairs of the State, or subject themselves to imputations of malice or wan-

tonness. And we think it would not be a pleasing sight to your Excellency to behold the Legislature or Executive bodies of the States, following the Camp, under all its inconveniences and dangers, on such occasions. If military punishment is sought, the seekers must submit to the inconveniences, whatever they are, otherwise injustice may be done the individual. But where no such object is in view, but the public judgment appealed to, the individual has his opportunity of vindicating himself, and show the opinion formed of him to be unjust. There has been scarcely a bad governor on the Continent, of whom the public bodies have not expressed such opinions, and yet there was always a regular tribunal and proper authority, where they might have sought redress.

In this transaction, though a remedy for public abuses was our object, unforeseen and unexpected difficulties occurred, until we got it put into your Excellency's hands; we were encouraged by that circumstance, and are now resolved to go through with this; but are inclined to believe that we shall in future bear our part patiently of the consequences of any evils of this kind as the lesser inconvenience of the two. In the present case, for the sake of peace, and that Congress might not consume more days (for many were spent on this comparatively trifling business), we proposed the present trial, and are content to be considered in any point of view necessary to bring it to a proper issue. When we speak of difficulties or obstructions, we beg you to believe we confine our views entirely to this City. The parties which then divided the State, created and continued them. If the same transaction was to happen again, different measures, we think, would be pursued.

The President has communicated to us that he has received, in a private letter, a notification of the trial for the 1st of June, which is quite agreeable to us, and the letter has been delivered to General Arnold accordingly.

The necessary connexion of evidence on one point will fail by the absence of Clarkson and Franks, but as we have no doubt it was intentional, we think postponing the trial on that account would be of no effect, as they would not probably return to these parts till it was finished, even if postponed to the 1st of July, or a later day. We shall have the papers got in readiness, with such other preparation as may be necessary.

We do not expect that any influence or authority of ours will induce the appearance of those from this State whose attendance is necessary. We must therefore endeavour to supply it as well as circumstances will admit. We are sorry your Excellency should suppose we had suspicions of the honour and impartiality of the officers who are to compose the court; if such is the natural inference from our expressions it was a very great inaccuracy. We thought there was a material distinction between the doing an act and the nature of it when done; that the objects of consideration were quite different; and from sentiments expressed here by some, we had reason to apprehend that persons unacquainted with the nature of the service, and the consequences of preventing the public wagons, might deem it

a small matter and treat it accordingly. But we would much rather have omitted the remark wholly than have given room for such a construction.

We hope your Excellency will excuse the length of these observations, as we did not apprehend that any such consequences would have flowed, or inferences have been drawn from ours of the 24th and 25th of April; we have been the more solicitous to obviate them, and are equally so to avoid any occasion for the like in future.

When we consider the situation of our militia in the State, their deficiency in arms, and that those counties from whence they ought to be furnished have been so constantly called upon for near two years, that they seem weary and averse to the service; we fear it will be utterly impracticable to draw out any number of them within the time required, and though it is painful to us to acknowledge it, we think it better to do so than to give expectations which we have so much reason to fear will fail us. These are the principal difficulties, but there are others of an inferior nature which time only can remedy. The militia is composed altogether of those who are attached to the present government. They see all the appointments of Commissaries, Quartermasters, and other officers of Continental establishment bestowed almost without exception on persons opposed to the government. Many of these are profitable; all give an influence of which they are never like to partake; on the other hand, it is employed to support opposite measures. Former and late appointments, have ran in the same channel, so that the body of Whigs in the State have in a great degree lost that ardour and zeal which gives life and spirit to service. We wish it was otherwise, and that as a common and indisputable duty all ranks would concur, however smaller circumstances might run counter; but it is to be feared there is too much of human nature in it to be easily rectified. We have long seen and lamented the progress of this evil, the effects of which are every day more visible throughout the State.

The imprudent behaviour of some officers stationed in the country also contributes to increase the mischief. The inhabitants of Lancaster County actually embodied themselves against Pulaski's corps; and Colonel White's conduct at Lancaster has not lessened the disquiet.

We had yesterday a return of forage drawn at that post by his regiment, by which it appears that in the time they have been there, they have drawn seven thousand and fifty bushels of grain and two hundred and thirty tons of hay; no state or country can support such expense. These circumstances have a very unhappy effect, and the continuance of staff-officers whose management is so notorious, discourages the people in their exertions for real and actual service. We forward your Excellency letters lately received from the Lieutenants of Lancaster and York Counties, and we find that from the difficulty of procuring militia and the period of their service, we cannot draw that effectual support from them that we wish. We have endeavoured to supply it in the following manner, which we believe you may depend upon. We are forwarding the five companies of Rangers, which will make three

hundred and eighty men. Westmoreland has raised two additional companies under the encouragement of General M'Intosh, and has offered to raise another; Northumberland has also raised three: these will make two hundred and sixty-five men; and though they have been raised by a kind of private subscription, we have encouraged and adopted them. These will make in the whole seven hundred and forty-six men, none of less term of service than six months. In addition to these, if the commanding officer of the expedition, when he gets in the country, finds it expedient and practicable, orders will be lodged with the Lieutenant of the county to comply with any requisition he may make of militia for the purposes mentioned in your Excellency's letter, and we hope in such case, it will be effectual, as the season being past for putting in their spring grain, they will have more leisure and inclination. Last year the Counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks, and Northampton, furnished twelve hundred men, for the frontiers on this side the mountains. Westmoreland sent every man that they could spare to Fort Pitt. The unevacuated part of Northumberland kept all their militia under arms with Colonel Hartley the whole season. Besides this, Lancaster has kept one hundred and forty men since last fall; and now has the same number guarding Continental stores at Lancaster and Lebanon. Two hundred were also kept on duty the whole summer and fall in and about this City for the like purposes. We took our share of guarding the Convention troops, and since Proctor's regiment has been ordered to march, we have garrisoned the forts on the river. When all these circumstances are considered, we hope we shall not be esteemed so deficient in public duty as may appear at first sight. Maryland has declined even furnishing a company of militia to relieve Rawlin's regiment, and Congress has directed a special regiment to be raised in Virginia, for guarding the Convention prisoners.

Should any emergency make it expedient to call a reinforcement of militia to the grand army, for any special purpose, we think we could promise your Excellency a body of men from the city and adjacent counties, they not having been called to any other duty for some time than we have mentioned above; and we flatter ourselves that in this case many gentlemen of note would set a laudable example.

Upon the whole, we beg leave to assure your Excellency of our very sincere regard and most respectful attachment, and that we shall on all occasions most cheerfully co-operate in any and every measure you shall recommend to us; being fully convinced that in all your views and actions a disinterested love to your country, and regard to its safety and happiness, are the ruling principles of your conduct. With these sentiments and most unfeigned wishes for your health, success and happiness, we remain your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants.

Signed, by order of Council,

JOSEPH REED,
President.

P. S. We beg that what we have said respecting Colonel White and the Quartermaster's department may not be understood by your Excellency as making complaints; we only state them as public opinions, influential on the people; we do not know whether they are well or ill founded.

WASHINGTON TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Head-Quarters, Middlebrook, May 20, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

A few days since I was honoured with your favour of the 8th inst. It is my constant endeavour to cultivate the confidence of the governments of the several States by an equal and uniform attention to their respective interests so far as falls within the line of my duty, and the compass of the means with which I am entrusted. While I have a consciousness of this, it is natural my sensibility should be affected even by the appearance of distrust. The assurances of the Council that I have misconceived their former letters, affords me pleasure proportioned to the pain which that misconception occasioned. I shall not at present trouble them with any remarks on the subject discussed in their last, respecting the degree of protection which each State has a right to expect. I shall only beg leave to assure them that I do full justice to the exertions of the State of Pennsylvania, and to express my hope, that if circumstances will permit the execution of the immediate and ultimate projects of the campaign, effectual relief will be given to our frontier in general. This is a favourite object with me, and nothing but necessity, or more decisive prospects elsewhere, will divert me from it.

If the independent companies raising shall amount to the number the Council mention, they will answer my expectation of succour from the State, and will make it unnecessary to call out immediately a body of militia. I shall only entreat that measures be taken to have them as speedily as possible at the place of rendezvous, Sunbury or Wyoming, where they will receive orders from General Sullivan, who commands the expedition. I am happy to find that General Arnold's trial is now put upon a satisfactory footing, and I regret that any misapprehension has happened. I shall endeavour to have the affair conducted in its future progress with unexceptionable propriety. The period now fixed for entering upon it relieves me from much embarrassment. I beg the Council to accept my warmest thanks for the favourable sentiments of my conduct which they do me the honour in this new instance to express, and I entreat them to be assured of the perfect respect and esteem with which I am, &c.

On the 31st May, the expedition against the Indians, under General Sullivan, was matured, and general orders to carry it

into effect were issued by the Commander-in-chief. Various circumstances delayed the march till the middle of summer, when Sullivan, with an imposing force, marched up the Susquehanna. The triumphant result of this movement is well known. The Indian settlements were destroyed by fire and sword, and frontier hostilities in that direction effectually arrested.

CHAPTER V.

1779.

Military Correspondence—Henry Lee's letter of July 6th—Battle of Stoney Point—Lee's letter describing the attack—Arrival of the news at Philadelphia—Thanks of President Reed and the Assembly—General William Irvine—His correspondence with President Reed—Affairs on the North River—Wayne's Letters—Charles Lee's political and military Queries—Washington's Letter to Reed, July 29th, 1779—Wayne's Letter, 6th August—Washington's views of Pennsylvania affairs—Correspondence of Wayne, Henry Lee, and Irvine—William Bradford—His career and character—George Bryan—Letter from Baltimore, August, 1779—Dispute as to Boundary Line with Virginia, and its adjustment.

DURING the whole period of his administration, in the few intervals of leisure which its perplexities allowed, Mr. Reed kept up an active and minute correspondence with his military friends at Camp, then on and in the neighbourhood of the North River. Few of his letters have been recovered, no drafts or copies being made. The following are some of those that he received, which, hitherto unpublished, have reference to the movements on the Hudson, and especially to the brilliant distinction gained in the course of the summer at Stoney Point. The letters will be given in the order of time, with no other annotation or attempt at connecting narrative than is absolutely requisite for explanation.

HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Camp at Haverstraw, July 6, 1779.

Kingsbridge. On the 28th of June, Sir Henry Clinton left New York. His baggage was sent out by water the preceding evening to White Plains. The same morning a number of cruisers sailed for the Capes of Delaware,

and the whole body of transports stood up the Sound,—presumable, that their desire is to receive the main army or a detachment for some Eastern expedition.

The possession and fortifying of King's Ferry, the manner in which the army is subsisted, and the knowledge of the States from which all their bread is brought, conspired to form my mind on the objects of Gen. Clinton for a moment or two. I communicated my opinion to his Excellency early, and repeated it in two successive letters.

Unhappily, I believe that the neglect or ignorance of the constructors of West Point has obliged this long halt in the Clove.

I fear it will be still longer. Gen. Clinton, by his movements, is in full possession of West Chester County, and has taken a healthy position, where he may refresh his army, wait for reinforcements, or by grand detachments plunder the contiguous states. Nothing but an advance over the river, and a real or feigned attack on the garrisons at the Ferry, will prevent Eastern expeditions. The adoption of this measure might compel Sir Henry to keep his army collected, for the purpose of foiling any attempt on the Ferry. For my part, I must confess I view General Clinton's commencement of the campaign as something masterly. The principle on which his schemes seem to have been founded is to render the attainment of supplies to our army as difficult as possible. He has nothing offensive at present in his composition, and the apprehensions of an attack on West Point were ideal. The strength of his army forbade the attempt; even had he been certain of success, the sure loss of men in the attack could not be compensated by victory. He might have gained possession of the river. His army would have been so reduced as to have obliged him to a state of inactivity during the remainder of the campaign. Had he been baffled in his attempt, he would have been totally ruined.

The Cork Fleet had not arrived on the 28th, nor had the April packet. The Refugee regiments recruit very fast; the army under the immediate command of General Clinton is computed, by some accurate judges in the City of New York, to be about 10,000. No official despatches have been received by the British Commander since February. It is certain that a British Captain had several packages for Members of Congress.

He persists in an obstinate denial; a Mr. Wallace, merchant, deposes that he saw the packets—the Captain is confined in Provost.

A vessel, five weeks from Liverpool, mentions the arrival of three thousand troops from Britain at Barbadoes; an equal number of the forces under General Grant are to be detached from St. Lucia for the grand army. They are daily expected.

This letter is hasty, incorrect, and hardly legible; pardon it, and be assured my sole object is your information of things, as they actually stand with us. The intelligence conveyed, I received from a person who left New York on the 29th. It came to him directly from Dr. ———, purveyor of the hospitals, an intimate of Sir Harry and Lawyer Smith, who

stands high in the estimation of the King's leaders. Do not divulge this matter, as it may preclude further intelligence.

I am at perfect [illegible] the enemy never venture out of their lines. The war will last for many years to come. I wish our preparations were more vigorous, and that the spirit of false economy was banished from the Council Chamber of America.

I inclose your Excellency a draft of the works at Stoney Point, and have the honour to be, sir, with perfect respect and singular esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HENRY LEE, JR.

A Pennsylvania writer may be pardoned for dwelling on the brilliant affair which, with a corps principally of Pennsylvania men, led by a Pennsylvanian, broke up the inactivity of the campaign. The storming of Stoney Point was one of the best conducted, and most gallant incidents of the war. On the 1st of July, Washington directed the attention of General Wayne to this post, of which but a few weeks before, by the movement described in Lee's letter to Mr. Reed, Sir Henry Clinton had taken possession. "It is a matter," said Washington, "I have much at heart, and I entreat your best endeavours to acquire the necessary information, and to give me your opinion on the practicability of a surprise of one or both the posts, especially that on the west side of the river." On receipt of this, Wayne, with two confidential officers, Colonel Richard Butler and Major Walter Stewart, reconnoitered the British works, and though he concluded that a storm was inexpedient, suggested a plan of enticing the enemy out of the intrenchments, and then "enter the fort with them." On the 10th, Washington reconnoitered the Point in person, and on full conference agreed to Wayne's plan of attack, giving him full liberty to change or modify it as he might think desirable. On the 14th, Washington wrote: "You are at liberty to choose between the different plans on which we have conversed; but as it is important to have any information we can procure, if you could manage it in the mean time to see Major Lee, it may be useful. He has been so long near the spot, and has taken so much pains to inform himself, that I imagine he may be able to make you acquainted with some further details.

Your interview must be managed with caution, as it may possibly raise suspicion."

On the morning of the 15th of July, 1779, Wayne wrote his last letter to the Commander-in-chief, full of hopeful confidence in the result. He enclosed him also his plan of attack, which though possibly familiar to the student of our military history, I am tempted here to republish, as a curious and characteristic memorial of this untaught soldier of the Revolution.

The troops will march at — o'clock, and move by the right, making a short halt at the creek, or run, on this side next Clement's: every officer and non-commissioned officer will remain with, and be answerable for, every man in his platoon; no soldier to be permitted to quit his ranks on any pretext whatever, until a general halt is made, and then to be attended by one of the officers of the platoon.

When the head of the troops arrive in rear of the hill, Colonel Febiger will form his regiment into a solid column of a half platoon, in front, as fast as they come up, Colonel Meigs will form next, in Colonel Febiger's rear, and Major Hull in the rear of Meigs, which will form the right column.*

Colonel Butler will form a column on the left of Febiger, and Major Murfree in his rear. Every officer and soldier will then fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat or cap, as a mark to distinguish him from the enemy. At the word *march*, Colonel Fleury will take charge of one hundred and fifty determined and picked men, properly officered, with arms unloaded, placing their *whole* dependence on fixed bayonets, who will move about twenty paces in front of the right column, and enter the Sally-port marked; he is to detach an officer and twenty men, a little in front, whose business will be to secure the sentries, and remove the abbatis and obstructions, for the column to pass through. The column will follow close in the rear, with shouldered muskets, led by Colonel Febiger and General Wayne in person. When the works are forced, and *not before*, the victorious troops will give the watchword, — —, with repeated and loud voices, and drive the enemy from their works and guns, which will favour the pass of the whole troops; should the enemy refuse to surrender, or attempt to make their escape by water, or otherwise, effectual means must be used to effect the former and prevent the latter.

Colonel Butler will move by the route (2) preceded by one hundred chosen men, with fixed bayonets, properly officered, at the distance of twenty yards, in front of the column, which will follow under Colonel Butler, with shouldered muskets. These hundred will also detach a proper officer, and twenty men, a little in front, to remove the obstructions, &c.;

* Christian C. Febiger, a Dane by birth, but a resident of Philadelphia, Return Jonathan Meigs, of Connecticut, and William (in 1813, General) Hull.

as soon as they gain the works, they will also give, and continue the watchword, which will prevent confusion and mistake. If any soldier presume to take his musket from his shoulder, or to fire, or begin the battle until ordered by his proper officer, he shall be instantly put to death by the officer next him; for the misconduct of one man is not to put the whole troops in danger, or disorder, and he be suffered to pass with life. After the troops begin to advance to the works, the strictest silence must be observed, and the closest attention paid to the commands of the officers.

The General has the fullest confidence in the bravery and fortitude of the corps that he has the happiness to command. The distinguished honour conferred on every officer and soldier, who has been drafted into this corps by his Excellency, General Washington, the credit of the States they respectively belong to, and their own reputations, will be such powerful motives for each man to distinguish himself, that the General cannot have the least doubt of a glorious victory; and he, hereby, most solemnly engages to reward the first man who enters the works with five hundred dollars and immediate promotion; to the second, four hundred dollars; to the third, three hundred dollars; to the fourth two hundred dollars; and to the fifth one hundred dollars; and he will represent the conduct of every officer and soldier, who distinguishes himself in this action, in the most favourable point of view to his Excellency, whose greatest pleasure is rewarding merit. But should there be any soldier so lost to feelings of honour, as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or skulk in the face of danger, the officer next to him is immediately to put him to death, that he may no longer disgrace the name of a soldier, or the corps, or the State to which he belongs.

As General Wayne is determined to share the danger of the night, so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day, in common with his fellow-soldiers.

The result is well known. Wayne stormed the British intrenchments, and when wounded, fatally, as it at first seemed, insisted on being carried forward with his men, that he might die within the lines of the conquered Fort.* The following letter, written two days afterwards, by Lee, gives a vivid narrative of this attack.

* "I should be wanting in gratitude," said Wayne, in his official despatch "were I to omit mentioning Captain Fishbourne and Mr. Archer, my two Aids, who on every occasion showed the greatest intrepidity, and supported me into the works, after I received my wound in passing the last Abattis." Of Henry W. Archer, thus distinguished, I have not succeeded in ascertaining any thing further. Benjamin Fishbourne was a native of Philadelphia, and served throughout the war with great credit. He was the brother-in-law of Thomas Wharton, the first President of the state. Major Fishbourne subsequently settled, and died in Georgia. His daughter, the widow of the late Joshua Clibborne, is still living.

HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Stoney Point, July 18th, 1779, 11 o'clock at night.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote your Excellency by Mr. Gordon, since which the object which has engaged our attention from the commencement of the campaign is no more. Previous to this, an official account of the enterprise on the night of the 15th must have reached Congress. For your satisfaction I furnish the particulars.

Early on the morning of the 15th, I received orders from General Wayne to join the light infantry with my corps. The General was so polite as to show me his disposition of attack, and as my station was the post of intelligence, he also consulted with me on the line of approach.

The right column under the command of General Wayne took the route along the beach, crossed the morass up to their knees in mud and water, and moved on to the enemy's left.

Colonel Butler commanded our left column, and made his way through the morass over the relic of the bridge, although the passage was very difficult and defended by a work in twenty steps of it; a feint was made in the centre; my corps of infantry, annexed pro tem. only, followed on the rear of the two columns as a reserve.

The troops rushed forward with a vigour hardly to be paralleled, and with a silence which would do honour to the first veterans on earth. A spirit of death or victory animated all ranks. General Wayne has gained immortal honour; he received a slight wound, one proof that Providence had decreed him every honour in her gift. Every officer acquired fame proportionable to his opportunity. The storm was more rapid than can be conceived, and in fifteen minutes, works were carried with the loss only of eleven killed on the spot, which every officer engaged reckoned would be purchased by the sacrifice of nothing less than every third man. Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury led on the right,* Major Stewart the left; Captain Lawson and Lieutenant Gibbons, who commanded the vans of the columns, distinguished themselves by their valour and coolness.

We captured the whole garrison excepting a few who got off in boats. One hundred of them were killed and wounded; four hundred and forty-four inclusive of eighteen officers have marched towards Lancaster as prisoners. The humanity of the Americans perhaps never was more conspicuous than on this occasion.

Although from the repeated cruelties of the enemy exercised on our

* Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Fleury. This was the same brave Frenchman whose journal of the defence of Fort Mifflin is well known to every American student. It was he who hauled down the British flag at Stoney Point, in the midst of the fight.—*Sparks' Washington*, vi. 304.

countrymen, known by all and felt by many, from the nature of assaults by storm and particularly in the dead of night, yet I can venture to affirm the moment a surrender was announced, the bayonet was laid aside.*

The British officers are candid enough to declare their gratitude for the lenity of their treatment. May this fresh proof of the magnanimity of our soldiers tend to civilize our foe; if it does not, it must and will be the last.

Fifteen cannon, mortars, cohorns, howitzers, &c., were found in the fort, an abundance of military stores and a quantity of baggage. The most valuable of these are safe, the rest are now burning. Some unfortunate accidents have prevented till too late the intended attack on Verplank's Point. General Clinton is at hand, and we have evacuated Stoney Point.

I fear the consequences from this signal success will not be adequate to moderate expectations.

Our not possessing both sides has compelled us to relinquish the one; it is probable it will be repossessed by the British, and of course our old position will be reassumed, a position which both policy and comfort conspire to reproach.

To-morrow perhaps Clinton's intentions will begin to show themselves; should anything turn up and I should be among the fortunate, you may expect to hear from me, provided you assure me that my hasty incorrect epistles are not disagreeable.

I have long wished my corps were legionary. The event of the 15th makes me more anxious on this head. His Excellency has been pleased to flatter me with McClane's incorporation.† It is now before Congress. I shall be very unhappy if it does not succeed, as the mode of carrying on the war now renders infantry absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of anything clever. I wish you would think of me on this occasion. Two companies of infantry besides McClane's are now under my command, but as it is but a temporary annexion, I conceive it useless to establish the police most advantageous to partisan officers, and do not therefore receive their full use. Please make my most respectful compliments to your lady, and believe me to be with great sincerity,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

HENRY LEE, JUN.

The news was quickly carried by Captain Archer, one of Wayne's aids, to Philadelphia. The joy was unbounded, and for a time drowned the clamorous discontent of the loyalists and their sympathizing friends. Archer thus describes it in a letter to General Wayne.

* Stedman says: "The conduct of the Americans on this occasion, was highly meritorious; for they would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword: not one man of which was put to death but in fair combat."—*History of the War*.

† No doubt Captain Allen McLane.

"I arrived here Sunday morning at half-past ten o'clock. From various impediments I could not get from Head-Quarters till near four, Thursday afternoon. I rode that evening to Mr. Wickham's, twenty-one miles; made forty-six miles the next day, and slept at Hacketstown; got up in the morning at two o'clock, and made the Billet by nine o'clock in the evening, being sixty-three miles that day, and within sixteen miles of Philadelphia, at which place I breakfasted with the President of Congress. I was obliged to press a horse for one of the dragoons on the road, which I suppose he will complain of at Head-Quarters.

"I came into the City with colours flying, trumpets sounding, and heart elated, drew crowds to the doors and windows, and made not a little parade, I assure you. These were Baron Steuben's instructions, and I pursued them literally, although I could not help thinking it had a little the appearance of a puppet show.

"I made a point of waiting on the French Ambassador and President Reed in your name, who, as well as others, speak of your achievement with wonder and praise.

"I have sent you the newspapers of the day. Adieu; may you long enjoy your present laurels and quickly have an opportunity of acquiring new ones."

PRESIDENT REED TO WAYNE.

Philadelphia, July 20th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,

Until you receive more substantial marks of honour and public regard, accept the sincere congratulations of one of your best friends on your late success. It is not the surprise of a post or the capture of five hundred men that pleases me so much, as the manner and address with which it has been executed. You have played their own game upon them, and eclipsed the glory of the British bayonet, of which we have heard so much.*

God grant you health and long life to enjoy your laurels.

Yours, most sincerely,

JOSEPH REED.

* When General Grey, in 1777, attacked Wayne's post at Paoli, it was a matter of exultation "that he rushed in, directed by the light of the fires, killed and wounded not less than 300 on the spot, and took 70 or 80 prisoners!"—*Sir W. Howe's Letter to Lord G. Germain*.—Almon, vol. iv. p. 412.

The Assembly did not meet till September, when the President in his Message called attention to the conduct of the troops. On the 10th October, its action being, it would seem, rather dilatory, the Assembly passed the following Resolution:—

“The Assembly of Pennsylvania, taking into their consideration the services performed by General Wayne and the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line in the attack on Stony Point, and the recommendation of the Supreme Executive Council,

“Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given to General Wayne and the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line for the courage and conduct displayed by them in the attack on Stony Point. The honour they have reflected on the State to which they belong, the clemency they showed to those in their power, in a situation when, by the laws of war, and stimulated by resentment occasioned by the remembrance of a former massacre, they would have been justified in putting to death every one of the garrison, will transmit their names with honour to the latest posterity, and will show that true bravery and humanity are inseparable.

“Resolved, That this Resolution be transmitted to the Supreme Executive Council, and that they be requested to transmit the same to General Wayne, to be by him conveyed to the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line under his command in the attack above-mentioned.”

WAYNE TO REED.

New Windsor, July 26th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Your very polite favour of the 20th inst. I had the pleasure of receiving last evening, and am much honoured by the manner in which you are pleased to express your approbation of the enterprise against Stony Point.

Permit me to mention to your Excellency the good conduct of Mr. Gibbons of the 6th, and Mr. Knox of 9th Pennsylvania Regiments, the two gentlemen who had the van of the right and left columns, and whose intrepidity and address would have done honour to the oldest soldier.*

* Wayne, in another letter, thus speaks of these two gallant Pennsylvanians:—"I am not satisfied with the manner in which I have mentioned the conduct of Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, the two gentlemen who led the advanced parties of twenty men each. Their distinguished bravery deserves the highest commendation. The former belongs to the sixth Pennsylvania, and lost seventeen men killed and wounded in the attack; the latter belongs to the ninth Pennsylvania regiment, and was more fortunate in saving his men, though not less exposed." James Gibbons, a native of Pennsylvania, died at Richmond, of which City he was Collector, in June, 1835, in the 77th year of his age. His son, James Gibbons, was an officer of the U. S. Navy, and perished in the conflagration of the Richmond Theatre, December, 1811.

You will have goodness enough to excuse seeming neglect, when I assure you I have not put pen to paper on the occasion, except to his Excellency General Washington; indeed, my head has been too much disordered to attempt it, which will also apologise for the shortness of this.

My best wishes to Mrs. Reed, and believe me, with every sentiment of esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and

Very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

GENERAL IRVINE TO PRESIDENT REED.*

Camp at West Point, July 23d, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Since the affair at Stoney Point, nothing material has happened. Why Verplank's Point was not also taken, remains yet a matter of speculation. The officer who commanded the troops destined for the assault, is a good deal suspected by many for having a *talent* (at least on that occasion) of finding many supposed obstructions, and barely plausible pretences for his delay; how just these reflections are, I will not pretend to say, as I am not personally acquainted with the circumstances. But I have it from good authority that his Excellency fully expected General Howe† would have made the attack, for which purpose he waited a whole day at Stoney Point, not only to see the business commence, but also to favour it by a cannonade across the river, by which the enemy were actually drove to the rear of their works. A most glorious opportunity escaped; had there been another Wayne on that side the river, Mr. Clinton's army would this day have been cooped up in New York, and not dare to set their noses out. I should be very happy to be able to inform the officers and men under my command, what really may be depended on respecting clothing and necessaries, generally, as I much fear we cannot depend on Congress for supplies. The dragoons, artillery, and military staff of the army, are now serving with clothing, &c. Troops who are in anywise considered as belonging to particular States are excepted. This will render it indispensably necessary that each State shall provide for itself; blankets and other warm clothing should, in our climate, be put on the men's backs by the middle of October at farthest. I own it

* William Irvine was one of the best officers Pennsylvania produced. He was appointed a Brigadier by Congress on 12th May, 1779, and served throughout the War. He was the father of Callender Irvine, for many years Commissary-General of the United States. General W. Irvine was a valued friend and constant correspondent of Mr. Reed. He died in 1804.

† General Robert Howe of the American Army. In his despatch to Congress of 20th July, Washington, whilst he expresses regret at the failure of the attempt on Verplank's Point, throws no censure on the commanding officer.—*Sparks' Washington*, vi. 298.

would be best in March to dress men, provided the old coats were not too much worn; but, alas, many of ours are in pieces now, and I am sorry we are got to the old trade of building forts, which will not only tear the coats, but, what is worse, the men also. The stores at present supplied by our State put the officers on a superior footing to any other; both they and the men, I hope and believe, have a grateful sense of it. I know the officers believe your Excellency has and will continue to exert yourself to get an honourable provision for them, as well while in the field as when they retire, and their country have no more service for them in their present occupation. I have heard sundry hints, or rather wishes, expressed, that the Resolve of the Assembly should be enacted into a law. Many think hard that half-pay should exempt them from civil employments. They have no idea that their being soldiers for a time should lay them under disabilities of any kind. Indeed, I fear it is bad policy on many accounts; one is, that I believe a number of them will make excellent civilians, much better than if they had never been soldiers. Should there be occasion to fill up our army, which I fear will be the case, we have hitherto been too late in the season. Recruiting should commence at the close of the campaign. Should not the Assembly of Pennsylvania, at next sitting, take this business up? The common mode will not do. Men are not to be got by it; besides, it is a monstrous burden on the State.

I have long thought of a method which, in my opinion, would at once accomplish the end, at the same time be least burdensome to the State. It is this: first ascertain the number wanted to fill up the quota, then get returns of the strength of the militia by detail, let the calculation descend to battalions and companies, each obliged to find the complement in proportion. I presume about a fifteenth man would do; there is scarce a company but could find two, three, or four, who would engage during the war; were they to do it in an equitable way, (perhaps as taxes are laid,) it would be but a small matter to the fifteen to make up a sufficient sum to induce one man to enter. I understand that some such mode is now practised in New England, but they enlist theirs only for nine months; this by no means answers the end; they are never made soldiers of, and the people who hire them are at the same yearly expense as it would cost, did they engage them for the war. A few of those are now coming on, *we are told two thousand*, some of whom it is said cost £3000 lawful to the purchasers, I may call them.

Since I wrote the above, a paper has come to hand, with a piece signed a Citizen of Philadelphia, the officers (of our line in particular) are in raptures with the author. I believe they are not much mistaken in their conjectures who he is. I believe the best apology I can make for troubling your Excellency with so long a letter is, that I can't do so often.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And very humble servant,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

It was about this time that Charles Lee, brooding over his disappointments, and stimulated probably by the officious malignity of some of his friends, published the attack upon Washington under the title of "Queries Political and Military," which has been referred to incidentally in the early part of this memoir.* He resided then in Berkely County, Virginia, associating with his dogs, and living, says his biographer, "in a house without glass windows or plastering, and more like a barn than a palace." He had in Philadelphia one correspondent at least, whose identity can only be surmised from the fact that he describes himself as having been in July, 1776, elected to Congress, and who, fearing to sign his proper name to his letters, subscribed himself an "Old Friend."† This correspondent was the recipient of Lee's defamatory contributions to the press. The Queries political and military referred not only to military matters, but to the politics of Pennsylvania; not

* Vol. i. p. 261.

† The letters of an Old Friend will be found in Langworthy's Memoirs of Lee, and are dated severally, 19th February, 1775, (p. 224), 23d July, 1776, (p. 267), 24th October, 1779, (p. 285). The following extract taken from the last, shows the extremity of feeling in which this anonymous writer indulged:

"Have patience; time and posterity will do you justice. The summer flies that now din our ears must soon retire. Nothing but virtue and real abilities will finally pass muster, when the public cool a little from the ferment into which the great and sudden events of the late Revolution have thrown us. *I would rather be one of your dogs in a future history of the present war, than possess the first honours that are now current in America, with the characters which I know some of our great men merit.* Poor Pennsylvania has become the most miserable spot upon the surface of the globe. Our streets, alas! have been stained already with fraternal blood; a sad prelude we fear of the future mischiefs our Constitution will bring upon us; they call it a Democraey, a mobocracy in my opinion would be more proper. All our laws breathe the spirit of town meetings and porter shops; but I forget that I am not safe in communicating my opinion of men and measures to paper. Oh, Liberty! Liberty! I have worshipped thee as a substance! But it is near twelve o'clock at night, and I am much fatigued with an unusual share of business, for in the true style of the subject of a monarch, my family and my business must engross all my time and attention. My country I have long ago left to the care of Timothy Matlack, Charles Wilson Peale, and Co. I must therefore bid you good night, wishing you at the same time, all possible health and happiness, and am, my dear Lee,

"Your sincere and affectionate,

"OLD FRIEND."

only to Washington and his military conduct, but to Mr. Reed and his Administration. Those relating to Washington have already been quoted; the following may be taken as specimens of the others:

"4th. Whether the present men in power in this State, do not tread exactly in the steps of this pernicious ministry, by proscribing and disfranchising so large a proportion of citizens as those men whom they find it their interest to brand with the denomination of Tories?

"7th. Whether a subject of Morocco is not, when we consider human nature, a happier mortal, than a disfranchised citizen of Pennsylvania, as the former has the comfort of seeing all about him in the same predicament with himself; the latter, the misery of being a slave in the spacious bosom of liberty? The former drinks the cup, but the latter alone can taste the bitterness of it.

"9th. Whether it is salutary or dangerous, consistent with or abhorrent from, the principles and spirit of liberty and republicanism, to inculcate and encourage in the people an idea that their welfare, safety, and glory, depend on one man? Whether they really do depend on one man?"

These Queries were sent to Philadelphia for publication, but the conductors of the press, of all parties, refused to print them; they were then returned to Lee, who procured their insertion in Goddard's Maryland Journal, published at Baltimore.

Immediately on hearing of them, President Reed published his brief and peremptory reply, and at once wrote to Washington.*

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, July 15th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I should not trouble you with the enclosed paper, if I did not know that you can look down with contempt on these feeble efforts of malevolence and resentment; and that I am introduced into it to bear false witness. I have addressed a piece to the printer, wherein I have made such remarks, and taken such notice of this attempt, as I thought a respect to my own character required. I have also the pleasure of assuring you, that the performance has met with the most general detestation and resentment, involving the printer, and all concerned, in a most disagreeable dilemma. This is so true

* Mr. Reed's reply will be found in Vol. i. p. 262 of this Memoir.

a criterion of the sense of the public, that I cannot help congratulating you on this genuine mark of public affection.

The public papers convey a tolerable idea of our public affairs. There seems to be a general wish for attention to our finances, and a revival of that spirit of patriotism, which marked our early efforts. This, if properly cherished, may produce happy effects; if suffered to languish and expire, will carry public credit with it. I am fully convinced this is the opportunity, and, if lost, or neglected, will never be recovered. It would be too tedious and improper an interruption for me to enter into any detail; and perhaps I am not sufficiently impartial. Great events are certainly comprised in the next six months; God grant they may be favourable to America. I verily believe Spain has declared for us by this time; though there is no certain account of it.

I dare not presume to wish you a shining or a pleasant campaign; the state of the country where you are forbids the one, and I fear the state of your army forbids the other. But I may and do most sincerely wish you health, and at least a safe campaign,—in some sense safety to us is victory.

Public indignation was not confined to Philadelphia; the most respectable citizens of Baltimore withdrew their patronage from the Maryland Journal, publicly avowing as a reason that they considered it subservient to the interests of the enemy; and the Editor published a recantation, in which he humbly acknowledged that “he had transgressed against truth, justice, and his duty as a good citizen, in giving currency to the Queries.”* General Lee’s name was given up as that of the author. Lee, it would seem, prepared a reply to Mr. Reed’s publication, but it, too, the printers refused to publish. Its temper may be inferred from the criticism of his anonymous friend in Philadelphia, “that it was best for the writer that the printers refused to publish it.”† I am not aware that this ever was given to the world.

How Washington encountered this new and malignant attack, with what high and contemptuous indignation he looked down upon these assaults,—for there were more than one—will appear from his answer to Mr. Reed’s letter.

* *Sparks’s Washington*, vol. vi, p. 308.

† Letter of an Old Friend, 24th October, 1779. Langworthy’s Memoir, p. 285.

WASHINGTON TO REED.

West Point, July 29th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have a pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your obliging letter of the 15th inst., and in finding, by it, that the author of the *Queries* "political and military," has had no great cause to exult in the favourable reception of them by the public.

Without a clue, I should have been at no loss to trace the malevolent writer; but I have seen a history of the transaction, and felt a pleasure mingled with pain at the narration. To stand well in the estimation of one's country, is a happiness that no rational creature can be insensible of. To be pursued, first under the mask of friendship, and when disguise would suit no longer, as an open calumniator, with gross misrepresentation and *self-known* falsehoods, carries an alloy which no temper can bear with perfect composure.

The motives which actuate this gentleman are better understood by himself than me. If he can produce a single instance in which I have mentioned his name (after his trial commenced) where it was in my power to avoid it, and when it was not, where I have done it in the smallest degree of acrimony or disrespect, I will consent that the world shall view my character in as disreputable a light as he wishes to place it; what cause then there is for such a profusion of venom, as he is emitting upon all occasions, unless by an act of public duty, in bringing him to trial, at his own solicitation, I have disappointed him, and raised his ire, or conceiving that in proportion as he can darken the shades of my character, he illuminates his own. Whether these, I say, or motives yet more dark and hidden, govern him, I shall not undertake to decide, nor have I time to inquire into them at present.

If I had ever assumed the character of a military genius, and the officer of experience, if, under these false colours I had solicited the command I was honoured with, or if, after my appointment, I had presumptuously driven on under the sole guidance of my own judgment, and self-will, and misfortunes, the result of obstinacy and misconduct, not of necessity, had followed, I should have thought myself the proper object for the lash, not only of his, but the pen of every other writer, and a fit subject of public resentment. But when it is well known that the command, in a manner, was forced upon me, that I accepted it with the utmost diffidence, from a consciousness that it required greater abilities and more experience than I possessed to conduct a great military machine, embarrassed, as I knew ours must be, by a variety of complex circumstances, and, as it were, but little better than a mere chaos, and when nothing more was promised on my part than has been most inviolably performed, it is rather grating to pass over, in silence, charges which may impress the uninformed, though others know that these

charges have neither reason nor truth to support them, and that a simple narrative of facts would defeat all his assertions, notwithstanding they are made with an effrontery which few men do, and for the honour of human nature, none ought to possess.

If this gentleman is envious of my station, and conceives that I stand in his way to preferment, I can assure him, in the most solemn terms, that the first wish of my soul is to retire to that peaceful retirement and domestic ease and happiness, from whence I came. To this end all my labours have been directed, and for this purpose have I been more than four years a perfect slave, endeavouring, under as many embarrassing circumstances as ever fell to one man's lot to encounter, and with as pure motives as ever man was influenced by, to promote the cause and service I had embarked in.

You may form a pretty good judgment of my prospect of a brilliant campaign, and the figure I shall cut in it, when I inform you, that, excepting about 400 recruits from the State of Massachusetts, (a portion of which, I am told, are children, hired at about \$1,500 each for nine months' service,) I have had no reinforcement to this army since last campaign, while our numbers have been, and now are diminishing daily, by the expiring term of men's services, to say nothing of the natural waste by sickness, death, and desertion.

Discouraging as all this is, I feel more from the state of our currency, and the little attention which hitherto appears to have been paid to our finances, than from the smallness of our army:—and yet (Providence having so often taken us up, when bereft of every other hope) I trust we shall not fail even in this. The present temper and disposition of the people to facilitate a loan, to discountenance speculation, and to appreciate the money is a happy presage of resulting good; and ought to be cherished by every possible means not repugnant to good order and government.

With you, I conceive that great events are comprised in the next six months, and I wish I had such information as would carry me along with you in opinion that Spain has declared in our favour. But having no knowledge of facts to ground such a belief on, I am apprehensive that the natural sloth of one Court, and the intrigues and artifice of the other, will keep things in a state of negotiation till the effect of the present exertion of Great Britain this campaign is known, when possibly a new scene may open.*

The public are already possessed of the little military occurrences of this quarter. I need not repeat them—some considerable movement of the enemy is in agitation, but of what nature, and where pointed, I have not yet

* Mr. Reed was right in his conjecture, having readier access to state secrets in Philadelphia than Washington had at camp. On the 16th of June, Lord North communicated to Parliament the fact that the Spanish Ambassador had quitted London.

been able to discover. Lord Cornwallis is arrived, and a number of troops (it is said) are hourly expected.

My respectful compliments attend Mrs. Reed and the ladies of your family. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON TO REED.*

West Point, August 22d, 1779.

DEAR SIR,*

My ideas of what seems to be the only mode left to keep our battalions to their establishment or near it, you are already acquainted, as they were conveyed at large to the Committee at Valley Forge in '78. I have seen no cause since to change my opinion on this head, but abundant reason to confirm me in it. No man dislikes short and temporary enlistments more than I do. No man had greater cause to reprobate and even curse the fatal policy of the measure than I have; nor no man (with decency) ever opposed it more in the early part of this contest: and had my advice respecting this matter been pursued in the years '75 and '76, our money would have been upon a very different establishment in point of credit to what it is at this day, and we should have saved millions of pounds in bounty money, and the consequent evils of expiring armies and new levies. But those hours are passed, never to be recalled. Such men as compose the bulk of the army are in a different train of thinking and acting to what they were in the early stages of the war; and nothing is now left for it but an annual and systematical mode of drafting, which, while we retain the stamina of an army, (engaged for the war,) will be the best—indeed, I see no other substitute for voluntary enlistment. In fact, it will come to this, for there are people enow, (old soldiers,) who will hire as substitutes; and the difference will be, that instead of the public's emitting or borrowing money to pay their bounties, which is enlarged greatly every new enlistment, these sums will be paid by individuals—will increase the demand for circulating cash, and as with all other commodities in demand, raise the value of it by multiplying the means of its use.

How far those governments which are rent and weakened by intestine divisions have energy enough to carry statutes of this nature into execution I do not pretend to be a competent judge; but such as are well-established and organized I am sure can do it. Those that are not, the propriety of the measure is so necessary and obvious that I should entertain a little doubt of their success in the experiment.

The sponge which you say some gentlemen have talked of using, unless

* The first part of this letter, relating to Charles Lee, has been printed in the early part of these Memoirs, vol. i. p. 263.

there can be a discrimination and proper saving clauses provided, (and how far this is practicable I know not,) would be unjust and impolitic in the extreme. Perhaps I do not understand what they mean by using the sponge. If it be to sink the money in the hands of the holders of it, and at their loss, it cannot, in my opinion, be justified upon any principle of common policy, common sense, or common honesty. But how far a man, for instance, who has possessed himself of twenty paper dollars by means of one, or the value of one in specie, has a just claim upon the public for more than one of the latter in redemption, and in that ratio according to the period of depreciation, I leave to those who are better acquainted with the nature of the subject, and have more leisure than I have to discuss. To me a measure of this kind appears substantial justice to the public and each individual; but whether it is capable of administration, I have never thought enough to form any opinion.

We have given the enemy another little stroke at Powles Hook, an account of which is transmitted to Congress by this conveyance, and will, I presume, be handed to the public. In the meanwhile I have the pleasure to inform you that about one hundred and sixty prisoners and the colours of the garrison were brought off.

I am, with great esteem and regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

The "little stroke at Powles Hook" was Henry Lee's gallant surprise of that post on the 19th of July, thus described in a contemporary letter, never before published, from a Maryland officer. Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia in this affair well emulated the heroism of Stoney Point, though it would seem, from a private letter from Lee to President Reed, he had reason to censure very strongly some of the "chivalry" of his own State.

LEVIN HANDY TO GEORGE HANDY.*

Paramus, 22d July, 1779.

DEAR GEORGE,

Before this reaches you, I doubt not but you have heard of our success at Powles Hook, where the enemy had a very strong fort, within one and a quarter miles from New York. We started from this place on Wednesday last [at] half after ten o'clock, taking our route by a place called the New

* For an account of Captain Levin Handy, see *Garden's Anecdotes*, p. 130. I am indebted for this letter to Edward D. Ingraham, Esquire. In Mr. Duer's *Life of Lord Stirling*, p. 204, is a description of this affair.

Bridge on Hackensac River, where my two companies were joined by three hundred Virginians, and a company of dismounted Dragoons, commanded by Capt. McLane. We took up our line of march about 5 o'clock in the evening from the Bridge, the nearest route with safety, to Powles, distant then about twenty miles, with my detachment in front, the whole under command of the gallant Major Lee. The works were to be carried by storm—the whole to advance in three solid columns, one of which I had the honour to command. The attack was to commence at half after twelve o'clock, but having been greatly embarrassed on our march, and having a number of difficulties to surmount, did not arrive at the point of attack till after four o'clock in the morning, when, after a small fire from them, we gained their works, and put about fifty of them to the bayonet, took one hundred and fifty-seven prisoners, exclusive of seven commanding officers; this was completed in less than thirty minutes, and a retreat ordered, as we had every reason to suppose, unless timely, it would be cut off. Our situation was so difficult that we could not bring off any stores. We had a morass to pass of upwards two miles, the greatest part of which we were obliged to pass by files, and several canals to ford up to our breast in water. We advanced with bayonets, pans open, cocks fallen, to prevent any fire from our side; and believe me, when I assure you, we did not fire a musket.

You will see a more particular account of it in the papers than it is in my power to give you at present. It is thought to be the greatest enterprise ever undertaken in America. Our loss is so inconsiderable that I do not mention it.

LEVIN HANDY.

On the 27th of August, Lee himself thus writes:

HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT REED.

August 27th, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,

I never conceived myself so important in the army as I find I am. Captains and Subalterns used to seek me. Generals and Colonels are now barking at me with open mouth. Colonel Gist, of Virginia, an Indian hunter, has formed a cabal. I mean to make the matter very serious, because a full explanation will recoil on my foes, and give new light to the enterprise.

In my report to General Washington, which I hope Congress will do me the justice to publish as soon as possible, I passed the usual general compliments on the troops under my command. I did not tell the world that near one half of my countrymen left me—that it was reported to me by Major Clarke as I was entering the marsh,—that notwithstanding this and every other dumb sign, I pushed on to the attack.

Had I been unsuccessful, I was determined to leave my corpse within the

enemy's lines. The brave Marylanders stood by me faithfully. Major Clarke, with the Virginians, exerted himself. Their efforts to second his endeavours were not the most vigorous. What I now write, I write in confidence. You probably will see the whole matter in print. I am determined to push Colonel Gist and party. The brave and generous throughout the whole army support me warmly. I do not know that any General Officers are my foes. I have received the thanks of General Washington in the most flattering terms, and the congratulations of General Greene, Wayne and the officers of the Light Infantry. Do not let any whispers affect you, my dear sir. Be assured that the more full the scrutiny, the more honour your friend will receive, and the more ignominy will be the fate of my foes. My respects to your lady and family.

Adieu, yours, most sincerely,

HENRY LEE, JUN.

HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Head-Quarters, Sept. 9, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for the sincerity of your letter of August 29th.

Believe me, sir, the congratulations of my friends are more pleasing to me, (although a young soldier,) than any applause from the public. Congress have not yet published any report. I presume they have good reasons for it. If they have not, they treat me injuriously. My trial goes on apace; the evidence of the prosecution throws additional lustre on every part of my conduct. I expect concessions will be offered this day from the chief of the conspiracy: their own interest, not candour, will induce the offer; if made, perhaps I may be good-natured on the occasion. Pity already has got the better of resentment. I mean to have my trial printed, for the satisfaction of some gentlemen of the Virginia line. I enclose my order of battle and disposition on the march; I wish it to be published with my report, as it will serve to elucidate the enterprises.

Be pleased to present my respects to your lady, my good friends Smith and Hutchinson.*

I have the honour to be, dear sir,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

HENRY LEE, JUN.

* Among President Reed's most valued friends, and one of his truest political supporters, was DOCTOR JAMES HUTCHINSON, to whom, probably, Major Lee refers. He was an ardent Constitutionalist, and having, with his friends Mr. Reed and Mr. Sergeant, shared in the obloquy which the animosity of the times cast upon that party, deserves some notice (and the narrative of the lives of the Constitutional Whigs of Pennsylvania is their best vindication) in this Memoir. He was born in Makefield Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the 29th day of January, 1752, and was the son of Randal Hutchinson, a highly respectable farmer, and one of the Society of Friends. He began his education under the tuition of Paul Preston,

GENERAL IRVINE TO PRESIDENT REED.

West Point, Sept. 15, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I have conversed with General Wilkinson this day, he says he has not

then a distinguished teacher, went subsequently to a school in Virginia, and returned to complete a collegiate course, with the highest honours, at Philadelphia. Having devoted himself to the science of medicine, his professional studies were first pursued with Doctor Evans in that city. From the Medical College, in 1774, he received a gold medal as a testimonial of his ability and attainments, more particularly in the department of chemistry. Shortly after this he went to England, and availed himself of the instruction of the celebrated Dr. Fothergill. His return to America was hastened by the political events of the times. The freedom of his opinions had indeed been the main inducement with his uncle, Israel Pemberton, (under whose care he was at Philadelphia, his father being dead,) to send him abroad, to withdraw him, if possible, from the impending contest. It was impossible, however, to keep from him a knowledge of the principles, designs, and exploits of his countrymen. He returned by way of France, as the bearer of important despatches from Dr. Franklin to his government. When on the American coast, the vessel he was in was chased by a British ship of war; and being determined to save the despatches, he left her in an open boat, landed under the fire of the enemy, and thus succeeded. A short time after, she was captured, and every thing he had, including a medical library collected in England and France, was lost. Immediately on his arrival in America he joined the army, and continued with it till the peace, taking an active and decided part in favour of America. The Friends were inclined to expel him from their Society for his (as they conceived) breach of their favourite principle of non-resistance; but on exhibiting to them a letter from Dr. Fothergill, advising him to the course he pursued, were induced to pass the matter over. The Doctor, in taking part with his fellow-citizens, was well aware of the consequent loss of the patronage of his uncle, so well known and so influential a man, who would no doubt have introduced him to an extensive practice in his profession among the most wealthy of the Society of Friends. After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army, he was called upon to act as one of the Committee of Safety. He was frequently at Head-Quarters in times of peculiar difficulties. He was appointed by the Act establishing the University of Pennsylvania, when but twenty-seven years of age, one of the Trustees; elected Professor of Chemistry by that institution; chosen a member of the Philosophical Society, and Physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital, in all of which situations he continued during his life. His abilities as a physician were universally acknowledged. At the time of the yellow fever in 1793, his exertions day and night were unceasing, but beyond his strength. He fell a lamented victim to that fatal disease on the 5th day of September of that year. His two sons, I. Pemberton Hutchinson and Randal Hutchinson, now reside in Philadelphia.

yet got a return to enable him to make an exact estimate, but assures me we need not depend on the Continent for either hats, shirts, blankets, nor stockings; he hopes coats can be procured. Many of our poor fellows have been two years in service and never had a blanket to this day. I may say we have no hats at all, as they are truly next to none; the Eastern troops have all got fine new-fashioned hats, said to be made at Boston, but I believe they are French. I wish we could get good hats for the whole line at once, as nothing can add so much to the appearance of a soldier. I am told Mr. Henry at Lancaster could, in a very short time, get any number made. Inclosed is a list of the surgeons and mates of the Regiments on this ground. I promised to send them after General St. Clair, who was to add them to the regimental list of officers, but as I doubt he will have left town, I think it is best to forward it to your Excellency.

It seems to be the sense and wish of everybody that they should be supplied as other officers with clothing and necessaries; indeed if they are not, we shall lose them. Some are of old standing, and perhaps have lost an opportunity of establishing themselves in their profession, that it will look too ungenerous to cast them out now.

Colonel Nicola's justification or defence is by no means satisfactory to me; that he has some kind of surgeon's certificate I make no doubt of, but he should (agreeable to the Resolution of Congress), have a transfer from the Colonel of the Regiment to which the soldier belonged. I know he has men picked up, some who had gone on furlough and never returned to their Regiments; their officers think them deserted, unless they happen to hear by mere accident that they are in the invalid corps. However, it is now too late in the season to bring any of them on. When I go to Philadelphia, I will see them examined myself. I am certain there are men in that corps, who have been certified by surgeons not fit for field duty, that are now as fit as any men in the world. This I know of my own certain knowledge.

The new French Ambassador is to be here this day, on his way to Philadelphia; it is said he is of a very different turn from Monsieur Gerard, being very gay, volatile, pompous, &c. He is to be received here as a private gentleman only; we are putting on our holiday clothes notwithstanding.*

I have the honour to be, with real esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

* The new Ambassador was the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who succeeded M. Gerard: It would be curious to know the impression made by the "holiday clothes" of the hatless, ragged Americans, on a French courtier, fresh from a review of the French Guards on the terraces of Versailles. Everything, it may be here observed, connected with the official intercourse of the French and Americans, the choice of their agents, the very contrast of deportment to which General Irvine refers, was successful, and in strange contrast with the awkward blundering of the British cabinet. No more suitable representatives could have been selected than Gerard, Barbè Marbois, and Luzerne. The same remark

IRVINE TO REED.

September 17th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

In addition to my letter of yesterday, I must beg your Excellency's patience a little farther.

The Continental suits of clothing are all of the same quality, no distinction between the non-commissioned officers and the privates. I need not tell you how necessary it is to have serjeants kept in a certain degree of credit, nor that it is impossible to do this without a distinctive dress. Some gentlemen have wrote to get the sergeants' pay augmented, but I am clear it will answer a much better purpose to lay it out in some articles of clothing; a silver-band hat, worsted epaulettes, &c., these small trappings I could wish the State to make a present of, and if practicable have a middling cloth procured for coats. This is to be charged to the Continent. We can get them made up at Camp, which will reduce the cost to the same of the men's coats if made in the country. Our drummers and fifers are also in the same uniform with the men, which is by no means military. As the State is at such vast expense already with her troops, I would not ask it did I not think it may be done with little or no addition. A small degree of cleverness in an agent can do the business. You can scarcely conceive how far a few things of this kind would make us outshine all other troops; I say outshine, because we excel far enough already.

I most sincerely beg your Excellency's pardon for troubling you with these small things, and in a measure making a mere clothier of you, and can

applies to the military men. Even the reckless libertinism of Lauzun, as exhibited in his curious Memoirs, seems here to have been controlled, for the only women of whom he speaks, except in the tone of a triumphant debauchee, were the Americans who nursed him in his illness in Rhode Island.—(*Memoires du Duc de Lauzun*, p. 170, Paris, 1822.) I find in a newspaper of the times the following primitive description of the reception of the first French Envoy at Philadelphia. "Early last *Sunday* afternoon, his Exceellency M. Gerard, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, arrived in this city. He was accompanied from Chester to an elegant apartment, provided for him in Market Street, by a Committee of Congress appointed for that purpose. On his entrance in the City, he was saluted by Colonel Proctor's artillery. It is impossible to describe the joy that appeared in every good man's countenance upon this auspicious event. Who would have thought, says a correspondent, that the American Colonies, imperfectly known in Europe a few years ago, and claimed by every pettifogging lawyer in the House of Commons, and every cobbler in the beer houses of London, as a part of their property, should in the course of a three years' war with Great Britain, receive an Ambassador from the most powerful monarchy of Europe."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 July, 1778.

assure you would not, had I the smallest expectation of getting anything of this kind (however small) accomplished without your friendly influence.

I am, dear sir,

Yours, most sincerely,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

In connexion with this portion of Mr. Reed's life, the two following letters may here be introduced. The one from Mr. Bradford has peculiar interest, not only from the professional eminence which the writer subsequently attained, but as a sincere acknowledgment of grateful feelings for Mr. Reed's considerate kindness. William Bradford had served, as an officer, in the Pennsylvania line with considerable distinction. Having yielded to President Reed's instance, and removed to Philadelphia, he was afterwards appointed Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. In 1791, as is well known, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania, and in 1794, General Washington made him Attorney-General of the United States, in which post he died, in the following year.* This letter illustrates the unpretending beginning of his distinguished career.

WILLIAM BRADFORD TO PRESIDENT REED.

Yorktown, July 17th, 1779.

SIR,

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's favour of the 9th instant, and must beg leave to present you with my grateful thanks for the honour you have done me. The favourable opinion you are pleased to entertain of me is extremely flattering; for, I assure you,—and it is with the sincerity of truth I do it,—that ever since I have had the honour of knowing you, whether in a public or private station, my heart has done homage to your virtues, and been ambitious of your esteem.

For your polite offer of serving me in my civil pursuits, you have my warmest acknowledgments. Since my leaving the Army, I have been engaged in reviewing my studies, and am now just entering upon the practice of the law, and, if my friends do not flatter me, have a prospect of some

* Mr. Bradford was in the fortieth year of age, at the time of his death.

little success in my profession. I am not, however, so firmly rooted here as to render a removal inconvenient; and I confess it would not be disagreeable to my inclination to be in some public office in which I could serve my country with reputation to myself; and this would be still more acceptable, were it in the line of my profession, or such as would not drive me from my studies, or render them useless.

If, therefore, I should be called to any office of public trust, to which my abilities are equal, and in which I could serve the community without too much disserving myself, I should accept it with pleasure. And, if anything of this kind should offer at a future day, I shall be happy to avail myself of your Excellency's influence. At present an immediate acceptance of any post would be inconvenient. A weakness of the nervous system, occasioned by a severe bilious fever, has rendered a little relaxation necessary, and for the removal of which, my physicians recommend a journey to the Springs, in Berkely County. For these I shall probably set out a fortnight hence, and continue there a month at least.

If you have any particular place in view which you wish me to fill, (as the close of your letter leads me to imagine,) and will indulge me with a few lines more explicit, I will do myself the honour of answering them fully before I set out for Virginia. A letter sent to my father's will reach me with certainty and expedition.

Very truly and respectfully yours,

WILLIAM BRADFORD, JR.*

* In Mr. Rawle's *Sketches of the ancient Bar of Philadelphia*, (*Hazard's Register*, vol. x. p. 291,) is the following description of Mr. Bradford's short, but most distinguished career.

"Bradford was the youngest of those who flourished at this active and interesting period, and his history merits the attention of the younger part of my brethren, as indicating that however discouraging the prospects may be, one should never despair. I have understood that for three or four years after his admission, he had scarcely a single client; his circumstances were so slender, and his hopes so faint, that he had at one time determined to relinquish the profession and go to sea, but his abilities, though known to few, were justly appreciated by Mr. Reed, then President of the Supreme Executive Council. On the resignation of Mr. Sergeant, in 1780, he was unexpectedly appointed Attorney-General. At that time the office required no feeble hand. The Executive Administration was involved in the most serious responsibilities. The ability of his predecessor had been eminently useful to them. If Bradford had proved unequal to its duties, the appointment would have covered both him and the Administration with disgrace; if otherwise, it elevated him to honour, while it highly promoted the political interests he belonged to—the latter was the result. Those of his brethren who had only noticed him as a mute and humble attendant on the courts, now watched his progress with political if not professional jealousy, and soon perceived with surprise, the first displays of eloquence in a style not common, of knowledge not suspected, of judicious management not frequent in youth. He advanced with a

The other letter has a less personal interest. For a number of years, disputes had existed between Pennsylvania and Virginia relative to boundaries, which were finally adjusted by a Commission, that met in Baltimore in the summer of 1779. The Commissioners from Pennsylvania were, George Bryan, David Rittenhouse, and John Ewing; from Virginia, James Madison* and Robert Andrews. The following letter was written during the session of the Commissioners. It is curious as descriptive of Baltimore when a village.

GEORGE BRYAN TO PRESIDENT REED.

Baltimore, August 31st, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you yesterday by Captain Keith, but he is yet here waiting the departure of the stage, which is fixed for this afternoon.

The enemy's cruisers in the Chesapeake appear to be the Rainbow and Salisbury, with some privateers. They took, it is said, a vessel bound in, and a ship going out, tobacco laden, with eight or ten small craft. They retired towards the Capes on Saturday, and are supposed to have instantly put to sea.

This town, filled with industrious people, has suddenly sprouted out to the size of 1000 dwellings in a country of indolence. The country hereabouts is a poor gravelly soil. They talk of fine land in the necks which lie eastward towards the Bay, and of good farms ten or twelve miles north-west or inland. But I fancy the town is rather too large for the neighbouring people, slothful as they seem, to supply. Meadow they seem to have little, scarce any marsh on their rivers have I seen. All the shores are gravelly and dry. This inattention of the Marylanders to the vast advantage of the Baltimore market is easily accounted for, from looking back to the fettered state of trade formerly, as conducted by a combination of little Scotch dealers, who kept the people in such bondage as stifled all industry. The cash trade of the land and the building this town has indeed removed many obstacles, but the habits of a whole people, educated and confirmed in indolency, are hardly surmountable. The readiest remedy certainly would

rapid progress, to an eminence of reputation which never was defaced by petty artifices of practice or ignoble associations of thought; his course was lofty as his mind was pure; his eloquence was of the best kind; his language was uniformly classical; his fancy frequently interwove some of those graceful ornaments, which delight when they are not too frequent, and do not interrupt the chain of argument."

* Bishop Madison.

be to introduce some new farmers, bred in a land of industry. Against this the difficulty of getting lands for them is urged, for the law of inheritance in the eldest son, the difficulty of selling real estate for common debts, entails, and the shame of parting with paternal lands, combine against strangers. An unaccountable jealousy too against this collection of strangers, as the inhabitants of the town generally are, is no small embarrassment. Narrowness and stupidity prevented the houses here, which are on bad ground, that is to say, low, flat, and under the hills, from being planned on an elegant spot two miles lower,—a narrow point between two basins, with deep water adjoining, and high, dry ground between. At Baltimore they soon found a great impediment to business; their ships of large size, for want of depth, being obliged to lie a mile off the wharf. This last circumstance has induced many to build at the place where the vessels lie, and thus a village is grown up there on a remarkable neck of land called the Point, and the place is growing fast. Both there and here we find brick buildings going forward, for rents are very high. On taking the number of persons in this Town and the Point, which are indeed called one town, there appeared not above five to a family, which leads to a suspicion that we count our citizens too largely.

Butter is at four dollars a pound. Hay £90 to £120 per ton. Vegetables very dear. Beef (less than our price) 10s.

This place was formerly more subject to fevers and agues than now. The stillness of the basin before the town, and some low ground, since filled in or drained, has altered this. But there is scarce any mud to be seen; all is gravel. The tide is very slack every where, and rises only four feet. It swells, but has no current at the town. All the inhabitants seem healthy. Indeed, all round this place, the nature of the soil promises better for health than our town. The very spot of Baltimore is, indeed, too flat, and under high ground, but is a bed of coarse gravel.

They raise no tobacco now in these parts, or at least very little. That article is had from Virginia on easy terms by water. By this, they trade to Europe at this time on a better footing than we do.

The fort here I have not seen, but I perceive that a small body of men might pass up the main river, Patapsco, without difficulty, come behind it, and do what they please, by a march of two miles only.*

Mr. Turnbull finds there are some suits in the buckskin, but not enough of trimmings and linings. I have spoken to R. Purviance for them, and Mr. T. has it in charge to secure them. The shoes are very bad. They ask for pig lead 30s. per lb.

The Virginia gentlemen offer to divide exactly the 40th degree with us, which I wish to accept. Mr. Rittenhouse is not averse from my idea. Perhaps we would be as well off with *Mason and Dixon's* line continued.

* Something of this kind was attempted, and nearly with success, by the British in 1814.

Then we should have no farther discussion with Maryland. Our company are all well.

I am, dear sir, very truly,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE BRYAN.

P. S. The Lark, a vessel from hence, was taken by the cruisers in the bay last week.

On the day this letter was written, the agreement was signed by which the line known as Mason and Dixon's, continued west five degrees of longitude counted from the Delaware, was to be the southern line of Pennsylvania, and its western boundary a meridian line from that point. This agreement was communicated to the Assembly in November, 1779, and finally, though with some reluctance, ratified by law in 1780.*

In May, 1781, the following official letter, curiously illustrative of our scientific infancy, was written to Governor Jefferson. The original is in the archives at Richmond.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

In Council, Philadelphia, May 14th, 1781.

SIR,

Since I had the honour of addressing your Excellency on the 6th instant, we have conferred with the Commissioners who settled the agreement entered into at Baltimore in August, 1779, and we fully concur in the method proposed by your Excellency of settling the extent of the five degrees of longitude by astronomical observation, not only as determining the present question with more certainty, but as it tends to solve a problem both useful and curious to the learned world. But as we are sorry to find that it is the opinion of our gentlemen of science that the season will be too far advanced before the observations can commence, and more especially as the principal astronomical instruments in this city are so scattered and out of repair as to require a considerable time to put them in order. For these reasons, though with great reluctance, we have thought it best, after expressing our full acquiescence in the mode suggested by your Excellency,

* *Journals*, pp. 400, 519; *Smith's Laws*, vol. ii. p. 261. The whole subject of the boundary controversy of Pennsylvania and Virginia has been fully examined by Neville B. Craig, Esq., of Pittsburg. His results were embodied in a very able lecture delivered and published in the year 1843, and are to be found in his valuable western periodical, "The Olden Time."

to propose the 1st of May next to run the line by astronomical observations. But in the mean time, for the sake of settling the minds of the people, and preventing disputes among the borderers, to have a temporary line run by common surveyors, from the termination of Mason and Dixon's line to the Ohio, or, if that should not be agreeable, to extend it twenty-three miles from the end of Mason and Dixon's line, that being the extent of five degrees according to common computation. In this case we only propose to mark the trees, avoiding, as much as possible, unnecessary expense. We hope this last proposition, in which we have no other intentions than to quiet the minds of the people, and compel militia services, will be acceptable to your Excellency, as the best, and, indeed, the only expedient which can now be adopted.

I am, with great consideration and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

JOSEPH REED,

President.

To His Excellency, Thomas Jefferson, Esq.,
Governor of the State of Virginia.

CHAPTER VI.

1779.

Public feeling in Philadelphia—The Embargoes—Tender laws—Price regulations—Mr. Reed's Opinions—Resolutions of Congress—Washington's Opinion as to Foresters—Proclamation of Council—Memorial to Congress—Town Meetings in Philadelphia—Progress of Popular Discontent—Committee of Prices—Robert Morris—Presentment of the Grand Jury—The Attack on Mr. Wilson's house—Allen M'Lane—President Reed's interposition—St. Clair's Letter—Mrs. Reed—Town Meeting—Act of Amnesty—Letters of Paine and M. Gerard.

No one can study minutely the history of the Revolution, without seeing that its great and leading events convey but a faint idea of the actual difficulties and embarrassments which the public men of those times had to encounter and overcome. The orderly books and private correspondence of Washington, and his fellow-soldiers, show this to a remarkable degree, and illustrate the homely truth that there was as much heroism, and power of endurance shown in encountering these vexatious details as in the planning of sieges and the fighting or gaining of battles. Nothing was well ordered or arranged in the affairs of the Continent. The forms of State administrations were equally defective. Though Constitutions existed, and government was, in form, administered, yet the institutions were of so recent origin, so slightly and inadequately constructed, so much subjected to popular influence, that no one was sure how far they could be relied on in the way of restraint or punishment. In Pennsylvania, to whose tangled politics it is necessary to recur, this was eminently the case, and in order to do justice to those to whom the executive admi-

nistration was entrusted, it will be requisite to narrate the progress of the popular excitement, which, having its origin in pretexts at least plausible, matured to the most deplorable excess. The progress of these discontents it is desirable somewhat minutely to trace. It was Mr. Reed's fate to administer the government at a time when this popular excitement was at its height.

Among the measures of false policy to which the legislators of the Revolution very naturally resorted were those of embargoes, commercial restrictions of all sorts, tender laws, and limitations of prices. The last were most habitually relied on, and were certainly, in their effects, most pernicious. There were, in fact, comparatively few who reasoned at all calmly and deliberately, on these subjects. It was a prevalent delusion, affecting alike Congress, the State Assemblies, and the mass of the people, that the only mode of appreciating the paper currency, was to prescribe a strict limitation of prices, and in spite of its invincible worthlessness, to force a given value on a depreciated and fast depreciating paper dollar. We may now wonder, with abundant harvests, flourishing commerce, peaceful prosperity, and universally convertible currency, at the strange delusions which led to so long a perseverance in this false policy, but in our wonder as well as our condemnation, we must admit that there was some apparent justification of it. In the instance of Pennsylvania, for example, it should be remembered that the embargoes which cut off her commerce, were forced upon her, and had their origin in Congress, to whose authority her citizens had been in habits, from their very position, of paying very implicit obedience. They were taught to believe that it was the part of patriotic wisdom to carry Congressional mandates into thorough execution. The local Assembly had pursued a similar course of restriction. The area of cultivated land was comparatively limited, less, by two-thirds, than it now is, the Juniata and Susquehanna being frontier boundaries. Agriculture, had, in a measure, failed or was seriously interrupted by invasion, and the necessities of war. Out of a comparatively limited population, Pennsylvania had sent a very large

proportion of her active labouring men into military service. Commerce was, in great measure, at an end. The remnant of credit and capital in Philadelphia, was in the hands of few individuals, and those, unfortunately, generally obnoxious to popular prejudice and resentment. Besides this, it should not be forgotten, that, for a long time, the bitter waters of political controversy, in its most virulent form, had spread over her people, and penetrated every channel of society. Such, briefly, was the state of things in the early part of the year 1779, when the progressive excitement, about to be described, may be said to have begun.

Mr. Reed's opinions were well defined, and such as might have been expected from his well-balanced intelligence. In writing to General Greene, in October, 1779, he said: "There have been great pains taken from east to west to regulate the produce and commerce of the country. I viewed the thing as impracticable from the beginning. It was rather to be wished for, than expected; how it will terminate is yet uncertain. But from what I hear and see from almost every quarter, I think the measure will fail. The attempt has been made again and again in Europe and America, but to no purpose. The commerce of mankind must be free, or almost all kinds of intercourse will cease. Regulation stagnates industry and creates an universal discontent. Men value themselves not less upon the privilege of exercising their industry in trade than on the gains they derive from it. Even the market-people would be very unhappy to be cut off from the opportunity of making the most of their commodities. There is a pride in every class of people in displaying their ingenuity in their transactions; to be deprived of this makes them restless and uneasy. Give men even more than they ask for a thing, and they will not be satisfied without the liberty of still trying to make more of it."*

Placed at the head of the executive department, with a Legislature that was thoroughly imbued with the erroneous doctrines of the most stringent restriction, Mr. Reed's opinions

* *Johnson's Greene*, vol. i. p. 149.

had necessarily but little influence. So far, they probably were operative as to enable him to administer liberally such measures of restraint as were forced upon him, so as least to embarrass the natural course of industry and trade. Speaking of them some years later, he said with strong feeling: "The committees for regulating prices, inquiring into the sales of goods, were the effusions of honest but intemperate zeal to preserve the credit of the paper money. Time and experience have shown their futility, but every person concerned in them will do me the justice to say I neither originated nor conducted them."* It was, as will be seen, the principal argument to justify the re-institution of the popular committees, in 1779, that they were meant to reach cases and provide for wrongs which Government either could not or would not provide for.

The legislation of Congress and the States on these and kindred subjects had been such as to stimulate popular excitement, and no one can read the language of the various enactments and resolutions, and then wonder that, ineffectual as they were in results, they should have produced irritation. The Resolution of Congress, (among the first,) of 23d November, 1777, was in these words:

"In order to introduce immediate economy in the public expense; the spirit of sharpening and extortion, and the rapid and excessive rise of every commodity being confined within no bounds; and considering how much time must unavoidably elapse before the plan directed by the preceding resolution can be carried into effect.

"Resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to the respective Legislatures of the United States, without delay, by their separate authority to adopt and effectually enforce a temporary regulation of the prices of provisions and other commodities for the supply of the army, in such manner as they shall judge reasonable; and to continue in force until the general regulation before proposed shall be adopted."†

In October, 1778, Washington wrote to one of his friends: "Want of virtue is infinitely more to be dreaded than the whole force of Great Britain, assisted as they are by Hessian, Indian, and negro allies: for certain I am, that unless extortion,

* *Pamphlet of 1782.*

† *Journals, 1777, p. 532.*

forestalling, and other practices, which have crept in and become exceeding prevalent and injurious to the common cause, can meet with proper checks, we must inevitably sink under such a load of accumulated oppression. To make and extort money in every shape that can be devised, and at the same time to deery its value, seems to have become a mere business and an epidemical disease, calling for the interposition of every good man and body of men.”*

To Mr. Reed he had written: “It is most devoutly to be wished that some happy expedient could be hit upon to restore credit to our paper emissions, and punish the infamous practice of forestalling and engrossing such articles as are essentially necessary to the very existence of the army, and which by this means, come to it through the hands of these people at fifty per cent. advance, to the great injury and depreciation of our money, by accumulating the quantum necessary for ordinary purposes to an amazing sum, which must end in a total stagnation of all purchases, unless some remedy can be soon and effectually applied. It is also most devoutly to be wished that faction was at an end, and that those to whom everything dear and valuable is entrusted would lay aside party views and return to first principles. Happy, happy, thrice happy country, if such were the government of it! But, alas! we are not to expect that the path is to be strewn with flowers. That great and good Being who rules the universe has disposed matters otherwise, and for wise purposes, I am persuaded. As my letter to Congress of this date has given a full account of the cantonment of the troops, and other matters of public concernment, I have no need to repeat it to you as an individual member. The conduct of the enemy at New York and Rhode Island is too mysterious to be accounted for by any rules of common sense. The transports containing their second embarkation, still remain in the harbour, for what purpose it is not easy to conjecture.

“I shall hope, when the army gets a little settled in winter quarters, that the Committee of Arrangement will perfect the good work they began in the summer, and draw order from

* *Sparks's Washington*, vi. 91.

the chaos we have been in for a long time past. It is eleven o'clock at night, and I am to set out early in the morning; for which reason I shall only add my thanks for the favourable sentiments you are pleased to entertain for me, but in a more especial manner for your good wishes and prayers."*

On the 19th of January, 1779, the Executive Council issued a proclamation against forestalling, threatening the heaviest penalties of the law against those who, by engrossing quantities of flour, had enhanced the price of bread and other necessities of life. Its tone, and the necessity which called it forth, certainly were not calculated to allay excitement. In the interval, the depreciation of the Continental money rapidly increased, and the only body which could afford relief, Congress, by securing foreign loans and restricting new emissions of paper, were engaged in a profitless and discreditable controversy, arising out of the conduct of Silas Deane, in which it happened that his apologists were generally of that party which in the politics of Pennsylvania had not conciliated popular favour. This was especially the case with Robert Morris, who honestly supporting Mr. Deane's cause, made himself the object of the most virulent obloquy.

By the middle of May, matters seemed to be approaching a crisis, and popular discontent on the point of breaking through all control. On the 26th, Mr. Reed, as President of the Council, accompanied by the Speaker of the Assembly and other gentlemen, presented a memorial to Congress, representing the urgency of the case in the strongest terms, and assuring them of the co-operation of the State authorities in any measures of taxation that might be thought necessary. This was meant as an effort to solicit the interposition of Congress, so as to avert the popular movement which seemed to be impending. It was at once taken into consideration, and the effect was an Address to the people of the United States from a Committee of which John Dickinson, then a Representative from Delaware, was Chairman, which was at once adopted, and issued

* *Sparks' Washington*, vi. p. 127.

in handbills to the people. After setting forth the necessities of past emissions of paper currency, the rapid depreciation, the inability to impose taxes or to procure loans, the following paragraphs occur.

“But to this cause alone we do not impute the evil before mentioned. We have too much reason to believe it has been in part owing to the artifices of men who have hastened to enrich themselves by monopolizing the necessities of life, and to the misconduct of inferior officers employed in the public service. The variety and importance of the business entrusted to your Delegates, and their constant attendance in Congress, necessarily disable them from investigating disorders of this kind. Justly apprehensive of them, they, by their several resolutions of the 22d of November and 20th of December, 1777, and of the 3d and 9th of February, 1778, recommended to the legislative and executive powers of these States a due attention to these interesting affairs. How far those recommendations have been complied with, we will not undertake to determine; but we hold ourselves bound in duty to you to declare, that we are not convinced there has been as much diligence used in detecting and reforming abuses as there has been in committing or complaining of them. With regard to monopolizers, it is our opinion that taxes judiciously laid on such articles as become the objects of engrossers, and those frequently collected, would operate against the pernicious tendency of such practices. As to inferior officers employed in the public service, we anxiously desire to call your most vigilant attention to their conduct with respect to every species of misbehaviour, whether proceeding from ignorance, negligence, or fraud, and to the making of laws for inflicting exemplary punishments on all offenders of this kind.

“We are sorry to hear that some persons are so slightly informed of their own interests as to suppose that it is advantageous to them to sell the produce of their farms at enormous prices, when a little reflection might convince them that it is injurious to their interests and the general welfare. If they expect thereby to purchase imported goods cheaper, they will be egregiously disappointed; for the merchants, who know they cannot obtain returns in gold, silver, or bills of exchange, but that their vessels, if loaded here at all, must be loaded with produce, will raise the price of what they have to sell in proportion to the price of what they have to buy, and consequently the landholders can purchase no more foreign goods for the same quantity of his produce than he could before.”*

In this tone did Congress address a people already highly inflamed. The progress of things was very rapid and natural.

* Journals, 1779, p. 225.

On the next day (27th) a large town meeting was held in the State House Yard, at which Daniel Roberdeau presided. His speech on taking the chair was highly inflammatory, the burden of it being that monopolizers were grinding down the people by heavy taxes in the form of high prices, that the disease of monopoly had its origin in Philadelphia, that large amounts of foreign goods were known to be secreted, and withheld from public use, and that the only mode to make money good was forcibly to reduce the prices of goods and provisions. The response to this appeal was the adoption of a series of resolutions asserting the right of the people to inquire into, and punish abuses aside from the law—a determination “not to be eaten up by monopolizers and forestallers,” demanding that all excess of price beyond that which was paid on the 1st of May should be taken off, and finally organizing two Committees, one to inquire into certain alleged abuses, and the other a permanent one, whose duty it was to ascertain prices at certain past days, to which hereafter all dealings were to conform.

The institution of this Committee is a leading incident in the local history of these times. Its members were numerous, and its sessions nearly permanent. The control it exercised seems to have been absolute and severe. Its plan of action, as indicated in the published resolutions, was to ascertain the price of articles at certain periods more and more remote, and then, by a sort of sliding scale, reduce current rates accordingly. The prices of 1st of May were to be the prices till 1st of July, after which, they were to be reduced to the standard of 1st of April. Nor was this example without its influence. Not only did every township and county in Pennsylvania organize its Committee of Prices, but neighbouring and distant States followed in the train of mistaken policy.*

* The following table may not be without its interest. It was published by authority 26th of June, 1779.

Prices of the following articles on the 1st of April, which are to continue for the month of July.

WHOLESALE.			RETAIL.		
Coffee, per lb.	.	0l. 15s. 0d.	per lb.	.	0l. 16s. 0d.
Chocolate, do.	.	1 17 6	do.	.	2 0 0

On the 31st May, the Committee determined on various and characteristic details of action, strongly illustrative of the temper of the times. Some of them are curiously ill-defined. They resolved, among other things, that any inhabitant offering or giving an *extravagant* price for market produce, was to be summoned to the Coffee-house on the following market-day, or before the next Town Meeting, and if any persons were detected in unjustly imposing on market-people, by obliging them to take prices much below their value, "*such person shall be held up accordingly.*"* House-rent was to be inquired of and

WHOLESALE.			RETAIL.		
Bohea Tea, do.	.	4l. 10s. 0d.	do.	.	4l. 15s. 0d.
Common Green, do.	.	5 10 0	from 6l. to	.	7 10 0
Best Hyson, do.	.	18 0 0	.	.	20 0 0
West India Rum, per gal.	.	6 5 0	.	.	6 12 6
Country, do.	.	4 10 0	.	.	4 15 0
French, do.	.	4 10 0	.	.	4 15 0
Muscovado Sugar, from 70l. to 95l.					
per cwt.	.	.	from 15s. to 20s.	per lb.	
Loaf Sugar, from 2l. 2s. 0d. to 2l. 10s.					
per lb.	.	.	from 47s. 6d. to 52s. 6d.	per lb.	
Rice,	.	.	.	.	3 "
French Indigo, per lb.	.	2l. 15s. 0d.	.	.	60 "
Carolina " "	.	2 0 0	.	.	45 "
Black Pepper,	.	1 17 6	.	.	42 6d. "
Cotton, from 40s. to 55s.	.	.	.	.	45 to 60s.
Hemp,	.	.	.	.	8 "
Candles,	.	14s. 6d.	.	.	15 "
Best Hard Soap,	.	10 6	.	.	12 6d. "
Butter,	.	.	.	.	15 "
Bloomery Bar Iron, per ton, 500l.	.	.	.	.	per cwt., 28l.
Refined, " "	.	700	.	.	38
Nail Rod Iron, " "	.	1000	.	.	55
Sheet Iron, per lb.	.	12s.	.	.	15s.
Best Dintle Sole Leather, per lb.	.	.	.	.	20
Neats' Leather, by the side,	.	.	.	.	150
A Calfskin that will cut four pair of shoes,	.	.	.	.	150
Best Boot Legs, per pair,	.	.	.	.	180
Harness Leather,	.	.	per lb.	.	20
Bridle " "	.	.	per side,	.	150
Boots per pair,	.	.	from 37l. to 40l.	.	
Men's best Leather Shoes,	.	.	from 135s. to 150s.	.	
Women's Shoes,	.	.	.	.	120

* Pennsylvania Packet, 1 June, 1779.

adjusted; in short, every transaction of mercantile dealing was to be regulated by this self-constituted and irresponsible body. The reasoning by which this severe supervision was justified, was quite satisfactory to an excited and suffering populace.

"I had money enough," says one anonymous writer, "some time ago, to buy a hogshead of sugar. I sold it again, and got a great deal more money than it cost me; yet what I sold it for, when I went to market it again, would buy but a tierce. I sold that, too, for a great deal of profit, yet the whole of what I sold it for would afterwards buy but a barrel. I have now more money than I ever had, and yet I am not so rich as when I had less. I am sure we shall grow poorer and poorer unless we fall on some method to lower prices, and then the money we have to spare will be worth something. I am glad the good work is begun."*

Occasional embarrassments, as might have been expected, occurred even in this apparently effective action. In their first organization, the Committee had recommended to their fellow-citizens "to be slack in making sales and purchases." On the 2d of June, the Committee determined to go in person to the holders and dealers in flour, to advise them to sell at regular prices, but not more than one barrel to each family, and those to such only as should declare they have but one barrel, and sellers, who would sell in small quantities, were to receive one dollar per quarter above the regulated prices, and poor families were recommended to divide the barrel.

Mingled with these vexatious, and, as it ended, ineffectual efforts to set things right, were personal suspicions and party animosities. Several leading merchants rendered themselves obnoxious to popular suspicion, and were summoned before committees. In the case of Mr. Morris, the supervision was singularly and unwarrantably severe, and was carried so far as to give rise to a difficulty with the French commercial agents who, for the supply of Count d'Estaing's fleet, had made, or were supposed to have made, purchases of flour above the regulated prices.† "Four or five poor women," said Mr.

* *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 June, 1779.

† *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. x. p. 324.

Morris, in an elaborate vindication which he published, "with sacks under their arms, came to me this morning, demanding supplies of flour, alleging they were directed to me by the Committee for that purpose, and were informed by them I had received two wagon-loads of flour from the country yesterday. I confess this surprised me a good deal at first, but on reflecting a little, it seems highly improbable the Committee, or any of the members, would be capable of giving such directions. because some of them had before been informed by my clerks that the flour under my care belonged to his most Christian Majesty."*

Other elements of discord mingled in these proceedings. New and still more violent organizations were carried into effect. The animosities and ill feelings of the previous year appear to have revived, and in May a new and subsidiary Committee was organized, whose special duty it was, according to resolution, to ascertain what persons, disaffected to the American cause, still remained in Philadelphia. On the 10th of June, the Grand Jury, a very fair representative of popular feeling, made a presentment to the following effect. "We beg leave to present a grievance of a very dangerous nature, which in our opinion ought to be attended to. It is this, that the wives of so many of the British Emissaries remain amongst us, keeping up a most injurious correspondence with the enemies of this country, by sending all the intelligence in their power, and receiving and propagating their poisonous, erroneous, and wicked falsehoods here, which pernicious practice, in our judgment ought immediately to be inquired of and remedied."†

On the 28th of June, greater violence was manifested. An artillery company of militia, heretofore garrisoned at Fort Mifflin, held a meeting on their return to Philadelphia, and adopted resolutions of a most unprecedented character, even in these days of disorder. Their address to the Committee on Prices set forth their cordial approval of the Resolves of the Town meeting, and added :

* *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 8, 1779.

† *Ib.*, 10th June, 1779.

“Notwithstanding we are convinced much good has arisen from your resolves, and are well assured your proceedings are attended with many difficulties, and require the most indefatigable attention and vigilance, yet we are very sorry to observe that designing and interested persons endeavour, by every means, to elude your judicious intentions, and that something more *poignant* and *striking* must at length bring them to reason. We have arms in our hands and know the use of them. If,” they add, “by reason of the obstinacy and perseverance of individuals, your Committee find themselves inadequate to the task, *our drum shall beat to arms.*”

There was no mistaking the tendency and aim of this inflamed language. It was meant to reach those against whom the popular excitement was already directed. It should be remembered that these complaints and this resentment were not wholly groundless. Ever since the evacuation of Philadelphia in the preceding year, there no doubt had been abuses of trade, and without reviving now the denunciatory language of the times, it may be conceded that there were very many, who in periods of deranged business and currency, yielded to those invincible mercantile instincts, that have no sympathy even with moderate patriotism and public spirit. The misfortune, as in the case of all popular excitements, was that injustice was done to individuals. Accidental associations, professional relations, mere party sympathies on abstract points, confounded often the innocent and the guilty, and the mass of the community in its suffering did not pause very nicely to discriminate among them. It is probable too that the personal demeanour of the leading men of what may, without offence, be described as the anti-popular party, those whose hatred of the Constitution overbore every other feeling, was not such as to disarm popular prejudice, and it is very evident on the least examination of the subject that much of the disorder and actual conflict that prevailed is attributable to this cause.

On the 29th July, a second town meeting was held, which broke up in confusion, and from this time forward, according to all contemporaneous accounts, the conflict between the ad-

verse parties, and the bitterness of feeling, continued to grow in intensity.*

On the 4th of October, 1779, an outbreak of violence occurred, when blood, and probably innocent blood, was shed, and which under the name of the "Fort Wilson Riot" was long and painfully remembered.† It was an important incident in Mr. Reed's life, as affording the opportunity for him to render effective service as an executive officer; and for a time, unhappily very brief, conciliating the adverse and unkind feeling which had been directed towards him. It is not easy at this distance of time to trace the causes of this unfortunate affair precisely, but its history, as derived from narratives in my possession from all parties, would seem to be this.

On Monday, October 4th, a meeting of the militia was called

* One of these town meetings or rather its proceedings were versified very cleverly by a Tory writer of the name of Stansbury. Mr. Watson has preserved the verses in his *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 304. In them is an allusion to the personal appearance of Mr. Reed that is not without its interest. I quote two stanzas, which certainly have some vigour of expression, and from which a very fair judgment may be formed of the spirit that pervades the whole effusion. Speaking of Mr. Reed:

"Ambition is his darling theme,
Integrity an idle dream,
That vulgar minds may draw;
At home, abroad, with friend or wife,
In public and in private life,
The Tyrant's will is law.

"Of deep resentments, wicked, bold,
The lust of blood, of power, of gold,
Possess alternate sway;
And Johnstone's bribe had surely won
Ambition's pale-faced matchless son,
Had Mammon ruled that day."

My friend Mr. J. Francis Fisher of this city has a curious MS. collection of Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution, the principal contributor being Odell, a refugee Episcopal divine from New Jersey. Some of them are very spirited in their vituperation.

† James Wilson, a distinguished lawyer and public man, resided at the southwest corner of Third and Walnut Streets. The house, long since removed, stood back from the street, surrounded or nearly so by a garden. Hence the name "Fort Wilson." Mr. Wilson had signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

"on business of importance," at a place called Byrne's Tavern, on the edge of the then Commons, in Tenth Street, between Race and Vine. What the business was, is not precisely known, but probably it had reference to the arrest and forcible expulsion from the City, or imprisonment of persons supposed to be disaffected. This was no doubt the pretext, if not the cause of the meeting. A number of individuals, supposed to have influence with the mob, attempted in vain to dissuade them from any act even of apparent violence. Matters had, however, gone too far to be now arrested, and the crowd, principally consisting of armed militia, led by two persons of the name of Bonham and Pickering, and amounting to several hundred men, began its march through the city. Whether Mr. Wilson's house was at this time the object of attack is not known. Probably, however, it had been threatened, for all that is ascertained is, that some thirty or forty individuals, some good Whigs and some, unfortunately, known to be disaffected, had assembled at that gentleman's house at the southwest corner of Third and Walnut Streets, and had armed themselves for its protection. The discretion, though not the chivalry of such a course, may well be doubted. All who were in the house at the time of the attack need not be involved in this partial censure, for it would seem that a number of Mr. Wilson's friends, among whom was General Mifflin, did not go to the house till the mob was found to be approaching, and word of what had occurred had been sent to the authorities.

The mob marched down Arch Street to Front, down Front to Chestnut, up Chestnut to Second, down Second to Walnut, up Walnut to Third. The following is the narrative of an eye-witness :—

"I was standing," says Allen M'Lane, then a Captain in Lee's Legion, in his unpublished journal, "on the front steps of my house in Walnut Street, and observed Colonel Grayson beckoning to me, from the door of the War Office.* I went to him, and he told me he was glad I had not left the City, for that he had great apprehensions that several of our most respectable citizens, then assembled at Mr. Wilson's house, would be massacred, as they were determined to defend themselves against the armed mob that had assembled

* The War Office was on the north side of Walnut Street, above Third Street.

on the Commons, this morning, and were moving down Second Street, expecting to find Mr. Wilson and his friends at the City Tavern, but they were within pistol shot of the War Office.* I listened to the sound of the drum and fife, could distinctly hear the sound in Second Street, and in a few minutes observed the front of those in arms appeared in Walnut Street, moving up the street; by this time the front of the mob was near Dock Street, in Walnut Street. The Colonel asked me if I knew those in front of the armed men; I answered I thought the leader was Captain Faulkner, a militia officer. The Colonel proposed that we should meet, and persuaded them to turn up Dock to Third Street, which we did attempt. I introduced Colonel Grayson to Captain Faulkner, as a member of the Board of War. Grayson addressed him, and expressed his fears as to the consequence of attacking Mr. Wilson in his house. Faulkner observed, they had no intention to meddle with Mr. Wilson or his house, their object was to support the constitution, the laws, and the Committee of Trade. The labouring part of the City had become desperate from the high price of the necessaries of life. The halt in front brought a great press from the rear; two men, Pickering and Bonham, ran up to the front, armed with muskets and bayonets fixed, and inquired the cause of the halt, at the same moment ordered Faulkner to move up Walnut Street. Grayson addressed Bonham, and I addressed Pickering, who answered me with the threat of a bayonet, sometimes bringing himself in the attitude of a charge from trailed arms. Captain Faulkner and Mr. John Haverstadt interfered, to pacify Pickering and Bonham. Then word was given to pass up Walnut Street. By this time the press of the mob was so great that it was difficult to keep our feet, and we were crowded among the citizen prisoners, which they had taken into custody in their march through the City. Colonel Grayson and myself linked arms, and determined to clear ourselves from the press when we reached the War Office. As we passed my house, I saw my wife and Mrs. Forrest at the window of the second story; the moment she saw me in the crowd she screamed out and fainted; it was impossible then to escape; we were then within pistol-shot of Wilson's house; I saw Captain Campbell, of Colonel Hazen's regiment of the Continental Army, at one of the upper windows, at Wilson's house; heard him distinctly call out to those in arms to pass on. Musketry was immediately discharged from the street and from the house, the mob gave way, and fled in all directions, and left Grayson and myself under the eaves of the house in Third Street, exposed to the fire of those in the street at a distance. We concluded we would run into Wilson's garden, but there we found ourselves exposed to the fire of both the mob in the neighbours' yards, as well as those of Wilson's friends in the house. In a few minutes we were discovered by General Mifflin, who recognised us as officers of the Continental army, and ordered one of the doors of the back building to be

* The City Tavern was the large building in Second Street above Walnut, long known as the Merchants' Coffee House, and now (1847) occupied as an Auction Mart.

opened ; at this moment several persons in the house became much alarmed, and jumped out of the second story windows. The back door of the house was immediately opened, and we entered. General Mifflin and Thompson met us on the lower floor, and requested us to follow them up stairs, observing that Mr. Wilson and his friends were about retiring to the upper rooms, which we did. When I reached the third story, I looked out of one of the windows in Third Street, looked up Third Street, could see no person in the street nearer than Dock Street, where the mob had dragged a field-piece. I looked down Third Street, and saw a number of desperate-looking men in their shirt sleeves, coming out of Pear Street, moving towards Wilson's house, armed with bars of iron, and large hammers, and in a minute reached the house, and began to force the doors and windows ; they presently made a breach in Third Street, but on entering the house, they received a fire from the stair-cases and cellar windows, which dropped several of them ; the others broke and dispersed, leaving their wounded in the house. Some of Wilson's friends ran down stairs, shut the doors, and barricaded them with tables and chairs, &c. In a few minutes, Governor Reed, with a detachment of the first troop of City Horse, appeared. Wilson, and his friends in the house, sallied out. I moved with them, and the first person I recognised in the street was Governor Reed, who called upon me, by name, to aid in seizing the rioters.*

In one particular, M'Lane's journal is in error. The President was not accompanied by the City Troop, but only by two of Baylor's dragoons, whom he had met in the street. Mr. Reed had been for several days seriously ill ; so much so as to be confined to his room. On receiving the first intimation of the disturbance, and the danger of the parties in Mr. Wilson's house, he left his house, and rode directly to the scene of action. He was followed in a few minutes by David Lenox at the head of a detachment of the City Troop. It was with extreme difficulty, and at no little personal exposure, that the disturbance was quelled and a number of the rioters arrested and committed to prison. On his way down Third Street, the President met Arnold in his carriage, driving towards the scene of confusion. Knowing that his presence would add to the resentment of the populace, Mr. Reed ordered him promptly to leave the ground. The order was sullenly obeyed. When the riot was over, Arnold again drove to Mr. Wilson's door, and on alighting

* This portion of Captain M'Lane's Journal is in the Archives of the New York Historical Society.

was heard to say, with spiteful exultation, "Your President has raised a riot, and has not power to quell it."*

Except this malignant murmur, not a word was heard except in willing praise of Mr. Reed's exertions. All were ready to do him full justice. A few days afterwards, General St. Clair wrote from Camp :

"I have heard with much pain of the unhappy disasters that have prevailed in town, but have not been able to divine the cause. It surprises me exceedingly that Mr. Wilson could have been pointed out as an enemy to his country, as his conduct has from a very early period been uniformly friendly, although his opposition to the constitution of Pennsylvania has been perhaps too warm. His advocating the causes of the accused persons should certainly not have been considered as a crime, as it is both a part and a consequence of that liberty we have been struggling to establish. I am pleased, however, that your spirited conduct in quelling the riot meets with general approbation, and that you were happy enough to rescue that gentleman, as it was pretty generally known that you were not upon the most friendly terms.

"May I hope that it will have the effect to remove any coolness that subsisted? If I could see you perfect friends, I should be very happy; for I know his worth, and would spare no pains in my power to bring it about. But I have said enough of this, and perhaps too much."

A meeting, without distinction of party, was held the next day at the Supreme Court Room, at which great and natural excitement was manifested. Many of the clergy, and all the principal citizens attended. No one seemed to know to what point violence might be carried. Arrests had been made on both sides. Several of the rioters had been committed to prison, and heavy bail had been demanded and given for individuals in Mr. Wilson's house.† The court-house is described as pre-

* In the Appendix to this volume, No. I., will be found two other contemporary accounts of the affair of Fort Wilson, which have never before been in print. They are curious and authentic.

† The following letter from Mrs. Reed, dated on the 5th, to a friend in town, shows that the excitement had not then abated. In fact, the militia from Germantown and the neighbourhood had threatened to march to Philadelphia; and it was owing only to the President's meeting and disbanding them that they were prevented.

Germantown, Wednesday morning, Oct. 5, 1779.

Dear Sir,—I would not take a moment of your time to tell you the distress and

senting a very solemn scene. President Reed addressed it with great earnestness and effect, and succeeded in producing a far better and more tranquil feeling than could have been expected. The Assembly then in session seconded his exertions in the same spirit of judicious and conciliatory action. At their meeting on the 5th October, they appointed a Committee to wait upon and confer with the President and Council, and assure them of the support and assistance of the House, and to concur with them in all prudent measures for quieting the present commotions and restoring the tranquillity of the city. This Committee reported on the following day; and on the 10th of October, the House unanimously adopted the following resolution:*

“Resolved, That leaving to the judicial authority of the state to determine who were to blame in the late dangerous tumult at and in the house of James Wilson, Esquire, in Walnut Street, the House are fully satisfied of the necessity of the exertions of his Excellency the President of the State for suppressing the said tumult; that the thanks of this House be given to his Excellency for his spirited and prudent conduct on that unhappy occasion, and that his Excellency be assured that this House will at all times support him and the executive authority in suppressing all such dangerous and disorderly proceedings, and in restoring peace, good order, and a due obedience to government, on which the liberty, happiness, and safety of the citizens of the State so greatly depend.”

All further trace of this unfortunate affair was in the next year effaced by the enactment, at the instance of the Executive Council, of an act of free and general pardon, by which all parties were entirely indemnified and discharged.†

This chapter of local politics may not inappropriately be closed by the two following letters. The one from Thomas Paine is eminently characteristic of his self-confident estimate

anxiety that I feel, but only to beg you to let me know in what state things are, and what is likely to be the consequence. I write not to Mr. Reed, because I know he is not in a situation to attend to me at present. Mr. Pettit will lend a servant and a horse to come up here. I conjure you by the friendship you have for Mr. Reed, don't leave him. I am, with great esteem, yours,

E. REED.

* Journals, pp. 384-388. † Act of 13 March, 1780, 1 *Smith's Laws*, 501.

of his talents and services. The letter from Mr. Gerard, then the French Minister to the United States, has reference to the well-known dispute between that gentleman and Paine, on the merits of which public opinion then was and still is much divided.*

THOMAS PAINE TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Though it has always been my disposition to render service rather than to request it, yet the line of duty in which I have acted for four years past, without profit or advantage to myself, has subjected me to numerous inconveniences which are now no longer in my power to support. That I could have avoided them is a matter which I presume this Board has no doubt of, nor of the apparent necessity there then was of relinquishing every species of private emolument, for the purpose of supporting a cause which originally rested on honour and principle, and so exceedingly cautious have I been in this, that there is not a private soldier in the service of America, during the time in which I have been engaged in public affairs, who has not been a greater expense to government than myself. To this State individually I have been no charge, although some considerable portions of my time have been spent in her particular service, at a period when she most required it, and many disadvantages have arose to me in consequence thereof.

I cannot but observe that the course of four years have produced no other signature universally known, and read here and abroad, except that under which I have constantly published, and should my situation be rendered such as shall oblige me to discontinue the part I have hitherto acted, it will not be easy to establish a new signature that shall collect and keep the sentiments of the country together should any future emergency arise, which to me appears very probable.

I conceive that the honour of a cause is considerably strengthened when those who have taken an early and active part therein, cannot be accused of ambitious or interested views, and though it is not now within the compass of my abilities to make any further sacrifice of time and service, and as I am unwillingly to give what I wish to support, and cannot consistently apply out of the State while I live without it, I have taken the liberty of mentioning my situation to this Honourable Board, and to inform them that

* For account of this controversy, see *North American Review*, No. cxx., p. 1.

with every disposition to serve a cause I have been long engaged in, I have it not in my power to do it unassisted as I have hitherto done.

I am, Honourable Sirs,

Your obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

Philadelphia, September 28, 1779.

M. GERARD TO PRESIDENT REED.

Philadelphie, le 11 Sbre, 1779.

MONSIEUR,

Mon premier soin au retour d'un voyage que je viens de faire à l'armée est de répondre à la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 29 du mois passé.

J'apprens avec sensibilité que des considerations qui me sont relatives ont detournées le Conseil Executif de Pennsylvanie d'employer M. Paine. Le retour que je dois à cette attention et à la confiance que vous me marquez, exige que je romps le silence que je m'étois imposé sur tout ce qui s'est passé entre cet écrivain et moi, et donne au conseil executif le droit d'être informé de ces faits.

Pour remplir cette espece de devoir, je vous prie, monsieur, de distinguer entre ce qui est relatif à mon caractere public, et entre ce qui m'est personnel. En ma qualité de ministre j'ai du porter au Congrès les plaintes dont le public a eu connaissance par les resolutions de ce corps et par ma lettre au President. Je me refere donc à ces actes et à cette lettre.

J'ajouterai seulement qu'après la première publication de M. Paine, je lui avois observé de vive voix qu'il étoit dans l'erreur; que des pièces autentiques et solennelles existantes sous les yeux du Congrès dementaient ses assertions d'ailleurs contraires à l'honneur de ma cour, et aux intérêts de l'alliance. Il m'avoit promis de reparer ce grief, ainsi que l'indique sa lettre-ci jointe; mais la publication subsequente de cet auteur n'ayant pas rempli mon attente, je me suis forcé à deferer les deux écrits au Congrès.

Pour ce que me regarde personnellement, Monsieur, j'avois lors de mon arrivée en Amerique la même idée que vous de rendre les talens de M. Paine utiles au bien public. La lettre ci-jointe de M. Fooks contient la substance de ce qui s'est passé à cet égard. Elle constate que M. Paine avoit accepte la tâche que je lui avois proposée, ainsi que la recompense, que M. de Mirales et moi y avions attaché. Je dois seulement ajouter que j'avois déclaré à cet écrivain qu'il seroit le maitre d'écrire d'ailleurs pour qui et comme il le voudroit; mais que j'exigeois que dans les écrits que je lui proposais de publier, il n'y eut ni injure personnelle contre qui que ce fût ni invective contre le Congrès.

Quant à la maniere dont M. Paine et ses amis ont représenté cette affaire au public, elle ne pouvoit ni m'étonner, ni m'affecter. D'ailleurs les

temoignages flatteurs que ma conduite a reçu, particulièrement de la part du Conseil Executif, auroient etouffé en moi tout ressentiment personel quand même j'en eusse été susceptible. J'aurois volontiers laissé M. Payne jouir les avantages quelconques qu'il pouvoit se promettre par la denegation de l'acceptation qu'il avoit faite des offres de M. de Mirales et des miennes. J'ajouterais même, monsieur, que si vous jugez pouvoir diriger sa plume d'une maniere utile au bien public, ce qui ne sera peut-être pas difficile à votre zele, à vos talens et à vos lumieres superieures, je serai le premier à applaudir au succès d'une tentation dans laquelle j'ai echoué.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un respectueux attachement,

Monsieur, votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

GERARD.

CHAPTER VII.

1779—80.

Legislative measures of President Reed's Administration—Messages of September and November, 1779—Proprietary Estates—The Divesting Act of 1779—State of the Proprietary family—Richard Penn—Governor John Penn—History of the Divesting Act—Compensation to the Penns in Pennsylvania and Great Britain—The College Charter—The Episcopal Clergy—Dr. William Smith—Seabury and Odell—Foundation of the University of Pennsylvania—The American Philosophical Society—The Abolition Act of 1780—Its history—Slavery in Pennsylvania—High Court of Errors and Appeals.

At the opening of the summer and fall Sessions of the Assembly, in 1779, President Reed communicated to that body the following Messages, which, as specimens of his public style, and expositions of his views of State policy, are here inserted. They are manly and dignified State papers.

MESSAGE TO ASSEMBLY.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

It is with the greatest satisfaction we congratulate you upon the various successes which have distinguished the period of your recess. While the most consummate bravery and discipline have marked the enterprises of our troops by land, glory and victory have attended those of our allies by sea, successes, which at once reflect the highest honour upon themselves, and the respective nations, and afford the fairest prospect of speedy tranquillity and peace.

When to these happy events we add the accession of another great and foreign power to the interests of America, and that the year has been crowned with a most plentiful harvest, we cannot but admire and acknowledge the goodness and favour of Providence. In short, nothing seems left us to wish, but a revival of that public spirit and virtue which shone with so much lustre in the early days of this contest, and which seems now necessary for the restoration of public credit, and the relief of our suffering frontiers. To both these objects we must request your immediate and unremitted atten-

tion ; and to this end shall now lay before you sundry resolutions of the Honourable the Congress for calling in large sums of the present emissions.

We esteem ourselves happy in the reflection that no steps for the security of the exposed Counties were omitted by us ; the most seasonable orders for stationing a body of militia, and also raising five companies of rangers were issued ; and every supply required, has been sent without delay. That the orders for the militia were not punctually complied with in some Counties, and in others wholly neglected, is what we have great reason to lament, at the same time that we think it well deserving of serious inquiry, that due praise may be given to those who merit it. We cannot but deem such self-exemptions from public duty as tending to a criminal relaxation of the bonds of society, and a departure from the duties of a well-regulated government. All the papers will now be laid before you, from which you may observe, that, disappointed in the expected aid, the frontier inhabitants have formed themselves into companies and associations for defence ; in the course of which, expenses have been contracted, which, if they appear in the same light to you as they have done to us, you will not hesitate to discharge, and thus encourage them to continue as a barrier to the more improved and settled Counties. How far the revival and collecting the militia law, with its various supplements, into one complete system, will tend to remedy the like evil in future, we submit to your consideration. The necessity of supporting a well-regulated militia, we think, is confirmed by every day's observation and experience ; and while the enemy is receiving reinforcements, with the avowed purpose of desolating the country, we deem it a measure highly deserving your attention, as well as that of every friend to the freedom and interests of the State.

The generous Resolutions of your Honourable House, at the last Sessions for the relief of the army and the fleet, and which we have executed with our best judgment and attention, have had the most happy effects in conciliating the affections and respect of those brave and valuable men, and cementing a friendship between the civil and military powers, highly honourable to both, and beneficial to all. We would recommend the clothing them, with the sanction of the law, as a measure pleasing to them, and perfectly consonant to the views of the House. We conceive nothing now remains on this subject but to make some early and suitable provision as a reward for their dangers, sacrifices, and fatigues, to enable them to return to civil life with honour and advantage, when their military services may be no longer necessary ; and we hope a mode may be devised for this purpose, not oppressive or burdensome to the farmer or tradesman, and yet satisfactory to them. The honour reflected on the State by General Wayne and the troops of the Pennsylvania line, during this campaign, would have attracted our immediate acknowledgment, if the approach of your Sessions had not inclined us to wait your concurrence, that the marks of our attention might be more proportionate to the service they have done, and the glory they have acquired.

We also, Gentlemen, most earnestly recommend to you to proceed in the great business of the Proprietary Estates, at least so far as to give the next Assembly an opportunity to put the finishing hand to this important and necessary work. The experience of mankind, the practice of other countries and nations, the sentiments of the greatest writers on government, and even our own observation during this great contest, in which the various principles that govern the human mind have been drawn forth into view and action, we think fully demonstrate that neither the peace, liberty, or safety of Pennsylvania can be deemed secure while this powerful interest, attached in all its branches to the powers we have abjured and abandoned, is permitted to retain its full force and influence among us. At present the subject is disentangled from all other considerations of a public nature; should it, by delay, mingle itself with the negotiations of a General Peace, we may long lament, and posterity will justly blame our indolence or timidity, which has lost the precious opportunity of rescuing this State from one of the appendages of its former bondage, and placing it on the same equal level of liberty, interest, tranquillity, and independence with its sister states. The safety of the people is the supreme and pre-eminent law and bond of society; and when, as in the present case, this can be secured consistently with the rights of private justice, we should hold ourselves inexcusable if we did not express our sentiments with freedom, and assure you that the general expectation and voice of the people, so far as our knowledge extends, concurs with them.

The Constitution of this State, with a wisdom and foresight which does honour to its framers, having considered the education of youth as a matter of great importance to the interests of society and order of government, we have been led to an inquiry into the nature and government of those institutions which at present subsist. It is with concern we observe a general neglect of this great duty, both in town and country, while the growing attention of other states invites the youth from this, and must produce effects equally repugnant to public benefit and private convenience. The principal Institution in this State, founded on the most free and catholic principles, raised and cherished by the hand of public bounty, appears by its charter to have allied itself so closely to the government of Britain, by making the allegiance of its governors to that state a pre-requisite to any official act, that it might well have been presumed they would have sought the aid of government for an establishment consistent with the Revolution, and conformable to the great changes of policy and government. But whatever have been the motives, we cannot think the good people of this State can or ought to rest satisfied, or the protection of government be extended to an Institution framed with such manifest attachment to the British government, and conducted with a general inattention to the authority of the State. The influence of a seat of learning upon the peace and good order of government have, we think, been too fully exemplified in the country from which we have separated, to permit any well-regulated state to neglect or overlook it.

How far there has been any deviation from the liberal ground of its first establishment, and a pre-eminence given to some societies in prejudice to others equally meritorious, the former inquiries of your honourable House will enable you to determine; for us it is sufficient to declare, that as learning or science are of no party or sect, we wish to see them promoted on the most liberal principles, giving to every denomination of Christians equal rights and privilege. As corporations compose a species of external government, in all great changes they have been considered as objects of public attention and care, that their subordination, obedience, and support to the supreme and governing powers of the State might be secured and preserved. This is a just and necessary policy we think worthy of imitation, as the object of the institutions, whether civil, religious, or charitable, may at the same time remain inviolate.

The law for prohibiting the exportation of provisions having expired on the 1st instant, we thought proper to continue the embargo until the 20th of this month, that in the interval your honourable House might take this subject into consideration; a subject of very great importance to the commercial as well as general interest of the State.

The public highways, gentlemen, will also require your care and attention; the laws respecting them are expired by their own limitation, and the present condition of the roads is too well known to make it necessary for us to enlarge upon the duty and propriety of making a suitable provision on this head.

We must also recommend to your consideration the officers of Government. However generous or adequate the provision for their support, when called forth by you or the people to the discharge of public duty, you must be sensible that the accumulated prices of all the necessaries of life since that time must make their situation very distressing, and that, instead of "a reasonable compensation when called to public service, to the prejudice of their private affairs," which the Constitution declares to be a right, they must lessen their private property, and sink into poverty and distress. As the people of this State have, in every period, exhibited a noble and exemplary generosity in support of government, it cannot be doubted they will in this case answer every just and reasonable expectation.

In conformity to the laws of this State and your desire, we have proceeded to the sale of the confiscated estates, and have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the sums arising therefrom, are so considerable as to afford a great relief to the good people of the State from their public burdens; and that the ship which, under your resolves, we fitted out for defence of the trade of the State, has not only answered that important end, but has been so successful as, in a great measure, to compensate the expense of the undertaking.

Our anxiety to perpetuate and extend the blessings of freedom, and enlarge the circle of humanity, induces us to remind you of the bill for emancipating the children born of negro and mulatto parents. We wish to

see you give the complete sanction of law to this noble and generous purpose, and adorn the annals of Pennsylvania with this bright display of justice and public virtue.

Thus, Gentlemen, having laid before you a general statement of our public affairs, nothing remains but to assure you of our cheerful concurrence and assistance where requisite to facilitate and promote the discharge of your public duties, and express our perfect confidence in your wisdom, prudence and despatch.

JOSEPH REED,
President.*

Council Chamber, September 9th, 1779.

TO THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

GENTLEMEN,

The short space of time which has elapsed since our Address to the late Assembly, has produced but few events sufficiently interesting to become objects of your attention. The advanced season of the year seems almost to forbid the hope of anything more decisive; but when we look back, and take a general view of the operations and events of the campaign, we shall find sufficient cause to acknowledge the favour and goodness of Providence, and to congratulate you on the happy state of public affairs.

While the efforts of the enemy have been feeble, spiritless, and indecisive, our defensive system has been supported with firmness and effect in every part of America, and when it has been departed from, the bravery, discipline, and good conduct of our officers and soldiers have been eminently conspicuous.

The seasonable and generous assistance of the Count d'Estaing, and the gallant force under his command, though not attended with all the success which our sanguine expectations suggested, may justly be reckoned among the happy events of the year, as it has disconcerted the plans of the enemy, been attended with success in capturing many of their vessels, and is in every respect a fresh proof of the magnanimity and attention of our allies, which will justly endear them to every sincere lover of his country.

The evacuation of Rhode Island, the acquisition of which was deemed by the enemy an object of such great importance at a former period, is at once a proof of their weakness and apprehension, and, we trust, a prelude to their total evacuation of, or expulsion from, this country.

The expedition under General Sullivan and Colonel Brodhead will, we hope, have the happy effects to make the savages of the wilderness dread the weight of the American arms, and give that safety and security to the distressed frontiers, which were the great objects of the expeditions.

But as very few marks of submission or humiliation have been manifested,

* Journals, p. 362.

and from some late appearances on the frontiers of Bedford and Northumberland, the inhabitants seem to be under great apprehension and alarm, we could not think it prudent to depend so far on the success as to omit the necessary preparation to repel any incursions which distress or revenge may induce the enemy to make, and have therefore procured a considerable detachment to be stationed in such places as will be most likely to answer this desirable purpose, and ease the minds of the good people in that quarter.

Our domestic tranquillity has been interrupted by some unhappy commotions to which free States have in all ages been subject. We trust they are rather to be considered as the casual overflowings of liberty than proceeding from avowed licentiousness or contempt of public authority. And as it is the first and we hope it will be the last instance where individuals will take the vindication of their real or apprehended injuries into their own hands; and as the discussions will be painful to their fellow-citizens and open a breach we wish to see closed, we submit it to your consideration whether an act of oblivion and indemnity will not have a happy tendency to compose the minds of the people, and in its effects prove more beneficial to the public interests than a rigorous pursuit of legal measures.

The institution of a Court of Errors, and a revision of the law respecting clandestine marriages, were formerly recommended to the Assembly of this State, but the multiplicity and pressure of other objects have hitherto excluded them from public view. The time appears to us favourable, and they involve considerations so very interesting to the liberty and happiness of the State, that we would wish to see them meet with due share of attention.

The counterfeiting the currency of the United States has made such alarming progress in some parts of this State as to require a severe and immediate check. The counterfeiting the emissions of an early date is by special Act of Assembly a capital crime, while the same practice is only punishable at common law in the case of late emissions, which has occasioned a distinction of punishments for the same offence by no means consonant to the principles of reason and justice, or the feelings of mankind. We would therefore recommend the passing a law, subjecting all offenders to penal and equal punishment.

The other domestic regulations having been referred specially by your predecessors, your vigilance and zeal for the public service and the interests of the State, make it unnecessary for us to enumerate them.

The supplies of the army, though attended with very heavy expense, we have hitherto been able to compass so as to draw the grateful acknowledgments of the troops for this just attention to their necessities. We shall in a few days forward both to officers and men so complete a supply of clothing, as will enable them to meet the rigours of the approaching season with ease and cheerfulness.

But while we contemplate with grateful satisfaction the general prospect of public and domestic affairs, we cannot help expressing our concern and apprehensions on the State of public credit. The depreciation of the cur-

rency and its fatal consequences to the honour and interest of America seem now so generally felt and acknowledged, that we trust a safe and sure foundation is laid for the success of any measures which may be adopted to check this growing and alarming evil.

How far any State can safely adopt a separate system on a matter of so great and general concern we cannot venture to decide, but we can have no doubt the Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania will countenance and promote every measure that will tend to establish the public faith, and fix it upon the solid basis of truth and justice. We shall think our time and labour devoted to the most valuable purposes if we render the public any service on this important point; and in every other shall endeavour, so far as depends on us, to forward the business of the State with despatch, utility, and mutual satisfaction.

The Secretary will deliver you sundry Resolves of the Honourable the Continental Congress of the United States, on matters of great importance to the general interests, and also several other public papers from our sister States, which we must recommend to your serious consideration.

JOSEPH REED, President.*

Council Chamber, November 13, 1779.

The three leading measures which are thus urged upon the attention of the Legislature, were those on which, at a later period, and in making the retrospect of his public life, Mr. Reed most prided himself—the Proprietary Bill—the transfer of the College Charter—and the Act for the Abolition of Slavery. They deserve a passing notice here.

By the Charter of Charles II., the absolute ownership of the soil within the assigned limits of Pennsylvania, was vested in the Proprietary and his heirs, with a reservation of the paramount sovereignty of the Crown of England. The political authority conferred on the Proprietaries during the interval from the settlement to the Revolution, was exercised by their nominees, or by members of the Proprietary family itself. It, as well as the ownership of the soil, was undisputed till the period when, by the Revolution, the paramount sovereignty was transferred. At that time it happened that the political authority delegated by the Charter was exercised by John Penn, the grandson of the first Proprietary, who had been for some years Deputy Governor. The ownership was vested

* *Pennsylvania Packet* of 16th November, 1779.

in him and Thomas, a son of William Penn, who resided in Great Britain. Richard Penn, another of the family, who also had been deputy-governor, returned to England in the fall of 1775, being with Arthur Lee, the agent of Congress, and the bearer of its last petition to the King.* In November of that year, he was examined at the bar of the House of Lords, and the testimony which he gave was so friendly to the Provincial cause as to call down strong rebuke from some of the ministerial peers.† He did not, I believe, ever return to America, certainly not till after the peace. Governor John Penn remained in Pennsylvania, and appears to have been a temperate and inoffensive man, who relinquished his political authority without a struggle, and was content to watch with unobtrusive vigilance the more substantial interests of his family. With the exception of his temporary removal to Virginia in the summer of 1777, he appears never to have been personally molested.

It was, however, very soon manifest that the proprietary tenure of the vacant land within the limits of Pennsylvania, and the reserved right in the form of quit rents, could not be allowed to continue. The paramount sovereignty had been superseded. The fealty at Windsor, with its emblems of two beaver skins, was supplanted by submission to more practical authority nearer at hand, and the "provincial seignory called Pennsylvania" had become an absolute and substantial sove-

* This statement has reference to the beginning of the revolutionary disturbances. Thomas, the son of William Penn, died 21 March, 1775. At the time of the Divesting Act, in 1779, the Proprietaries were John Penn (the Governor), and John Penn of Stoke Pogis, the son of Thomas. Richard Penn referred to in the text, was the second son of Richard, the third son of the original William Penn. The most intelligible statement of this intricate genealogy will be found in 2 *Yeates' Reports*, p. 550.

† Mr. Richard Penn's examination will be found, (in *Parliamentary History*, xviii. p. 911.) When asked what was the military force of Pennsylvania in 1775, he said: "When I left Pennsylvania, they had 20,000 men in arms, embodied, but not paid, and 4500 since raised. He said there were 60,000 men fit to bear arms, in Pennsylvania. In the debate which followed, Lord Lyttleton said, 'With all the caution with which Mr. Penn guarded his expressions, he nevertheless betrayed through the whole of his examination, the strongest indication of the strongest prejudice.'"—*Id.*, 928.

reignty by itself. Under this change, it was hardly reasonable that vast tracts of unappropriated lands should be suffered to remain under private control, and be utterly unproductive for public necessities, or that Proprietaries, recognising in their very titles a foreign and adverse authority, should be left in undisturbed possession not only of this vacant territory, but still more offensively, of the quit-rents to which they had subjected all the patented and improved land. These rents, too, it should be remembered, were no new grievance. From the time of William Penn downwards, they had been complained of, and had led to the most fierce controversies. The time had now come when a rude remedy was to be applied. It was applied with decision and with dignity—with much less precipitation, in fact, and with less apparent violation of decorum than commonly characterize revolutionary processes.

In February, 1778, President Reed in a message to Assembly said, "We shall now offer the last though not the least object of your public inquiry and deliberations; we mean the nature and extent of the claims or estates of the late proprietaries, and their consistency with the interests and happiness of the people under the late revolution. To reconcile the rights and demands of society with those of private justice and equity in this case, will be worthy your most serious attention; nor ought the magnitude of the object, or the splendour and influence heretofore annexed to the power derived from that source, deter you from the inquiry, or dazzle you in the pursuit. The just regard due to the suspended rights of many individuals of this State, and the common interests of all, do not admit that it should any longer be kept out of sight, though war, with its calamities and confusion, has hitherto excluded it from the notice of a government founded on the authority of the people only."*

The House took the matter into early consideration, and directed notice to be given to Mr. Penn. At the instance of that gentleman, a more distant day was assigned, in order to give him a reasonable time to determine what his course would

* Journals, 307.

be. On the 11th of March, the counsel for the Penns asked for further indulgence, which was allowed. Five days were subsequently devoted to the argument of the case before the Assembly. It is to be regretted that these arguments have not been preserved. They would throw much light on an interesting point in the juridical and political history of the State.*

On the 27th of March, a series of questions were propounded by order of the House to Chief Justice M'Kean, on the legal points in controversy. They relate to the authority of the Crown to give the Charter, the nature of the grant, the extent of the concessions to the first purchasers, the right to reserve the quit-rents, their proper appropriation, and the effect of the change of government on the pre-emption right of the Proprietaries.

These questions, which show either the doubts or the course of reasoning of the friends of the pending measure, were answered by the Chief Justice. In his answer, which he expressly and significantly desired may be taken in a legal and not a political light, Mr. M'Kean was of opinion that the right of the Crown was unquestionable, and the grant to Penn an absolute one.† He affirmed the right to the quit-rents, and denied that the object of their reservation was the support of government, (a favourite theory of the anti-proprietary party in former times,) and on but one point of law seemed to agree with the popular party; the right of pre-emption he considered as vested in the new government. The report of the Committee asserted very different and more radical doctrines as to these proprietary tenures. Without pausing to inquire who, on these abstract questions, was right, it is obvious that the political reason was the active and controlling one; and no one, looking back to those times and their exigencies, will, for a moment, doubt that the continuance of these tenures, with pre-emptions and quit-

* Journals of Assembly, 316, 323, 331, 339, 347. In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 9th March, 1779, is a very earnest essay or argument against the Divesting Act.

† On this point his language is, "It *rather appears* to me the grant to Penn was an absolute one." In 1808 the question was judicially determined in the affirmative in the case of *Penn v. Kline*, 4 *Dallas*, 402.

rents, was wholly incompatible with the new institutions. It may be observed, in passing, that the abolition of the quit-rents, a prominent feature in the revolutionary measure, may be regarded as the means of saving Pennsylvania from the discredit and embarrassment of such a contest between tenantry and landlords as in our day has occurred in a sister State.

The opinion of the Chief Justice, and the Report of the Committee, were ordered to be printed on the 5th of April, 1779, and, the Legislature adjourning soon after, no action was had either then, or at the resumed session in the fall, except that, after the summer recess, a bill was reported, and, after a certain consideration, ordered (according to the fashion of the times, and the requisitions of the Constitution) to be printed in the newspapers for public approval. The new Legislature, which met in October, immediately resumed the subject, and a bill was soon matured, which, after passing to a second reading, was referred for examination to the Chief Justice and Attorney-General. Their report has not, that I am aware of, been preserved, nor is there any allusion to it on the Journals. The bill was finally passed on the 24th November, by a vote of forty to seven. The minority entered a short protest, and, on the same day, Mr. Penn addressed a brief and decorous remonstrance to the Assembly, which, at his request, was printed in the Journal. The law, as is well known, divested all the proprietary public property, including the quit-rents, but carefully protected the Manors, and what could be distinguished as private property, and, with a liberality which may have given other less-favoured individuals some reason to complain, allowed a compensation to the late Proprietaries of £130,000 sterling money of Great Britain, all of which, to the uttermost farthing, with interest, was discharged within eight years after the peace of 1783.* It will hardly be questioned that this was a measure of the most liberal justice. It was one too, which, after the first irritation of controversy had passed away, never, so far as I am aware, was complained of by the parties interested.† This, however, is the less remarkable from

* 1 Smith's Laws, 499.

† The Council of Censors in their revision of the Legislation under the Constitution of 1776 found no fault with the Divesting Act.

the fact that the Penn family received additional remuneration for an estimated loss of half a million sterling from Great Britain in an annuity of £4,000.* Few, either active or passive loyalists, were as fortunate in receiving compensation on both sides of the Atlantic.

Coincident with this measure, and of an equally local interest, was the affair of the College Charter, which, by an Act of Assembly, was transferred to a new Institution, known as the University of Pennsylvania. This excited great animosity at the time, and it is far from easy to pass a fair judgment on it even at this day, when the heat of controversy has subsided. Judged by the standard of our times, and according to what may be considered well-settled conservative principles, it may be condemned; but in all such judgments full allowance must be made for revolutionary irregularities and exigencies. If the professions of the friends of the change in the College administration were sincere—and there is no reason to doubt it—it was most natural that they should be restless in the consciousness that the education of youth in its higher branches was in the hands of men grievously suspected of anti-republican principles and practices. In such controversies, personal animosities are apt to mingle. They no doubt largely did in this instance. The President of the old College, the Reverend William Smith, an Englishman by birth, a kind of pet of the Proprietary family, with a degree conferred by the University of Oxford, was an individual especially obnoxious to the popular party and its leaders. He had given great discontent by his doubtful support of patriotic measures, whilst on all other questions of political or polemical difference he was active and ardent and eloquent.† He was a Churchman of extreme opinions, at least according to the standard of the eighteenth century, and whilst the discreet forbearance and caution of his contemporary, Doctor (afterwards Bishop) White, exempted

* Wilmot's *Historical View of the Commission on Loyalists' Claims*. London, 1815, p. 92. The debate on the subject will be found in the 28th vol. *Parl. History*, p. 813, May 14, 1790.

† John Adams's *Letters to his Wife*, vol. i. p. 105. See also Dr. Wilson's *Life of Bishop White*, p. 19.

him from suspicion or reproach, Doctor Smith was, in the controversies of the times, turbulent and active. The established church and its clergy were, it may be conceded, no favourites in this part of the United States. They were the objects of ill-concealed enmity, which neither the unquestioned patriotism of a portion of the laity, nor Doctor White's temperate republicanism, could disarm. Nor was it unnatural, for the conduct of the clergy in New York and New Jersey had been most offensive. Mr. Seabury, by his own showing, was acting as a guide to Sir Henry Clinton in 1776, and Odell, a refugee from New Jersey, was a regular contributor of clever ribaldry to Rivington's Royal Gazette.*

At the time of the Revolution, all, or nearly all, the acting Trustees of the College were Episcopalians, though in the Professorships other denominations were represented. This, connected with the prevalent adverse feeling to the discipline and supposed political tenets of the Church, to which I have alluded, had, no doubt, great influence. The vacancies that had occurred in the Board of Trustees, were slowly and reluctantly filled, and the choice of new trustees was invariably made from the political party which happened to be the object of suspicion and reproach. It did not escape the vigilance of the opponents of the College, that vacancies occasioned by the flight and attainder of several members, were not filled till popular resentment appeared to be aroused by neglect, and then the absentees were spoken of, not as guilty deserters from the cause of their country, but as those who were accidentally and innocently

* In a series of Memoirs of the Colonial Church, republished in 1846, in the Banner of the Cross at Philadelphia, it is stated that, "When the King's troops passed over into the county of Westchester, Mr. Seabury accompanied them, and being perfectly acquainted with the roads and rivers of the country, furnished General Clinton with plans and maps which were very serviceable." Odell was active in every way. He appears to have been the medium of communication between Gustavus (Arnold) and John Anderson (Andre) in 1780. (*Sparks' Washington*, vii. p. 521.) His political poetry is spirited and curious, and his vilification of the American leaders virulent, that of Mr. Reed especially so. In a letter from Bishop White to Mr. Reed, a portion of which is published in Dr. Wilson's Memoir, dated in 1783, he says: "There always has been a wide difference between the high-flying principles of a few clergymen to the northward, and those of the Episcopalians of this city."

prevented from executing their trust. These impulses are merely referred to as existing, without the expression of any judgment as to how far they were justified, or to what extent they excused the course which the State authorities pursued.

A fair consideration of the whole subject leads to the opinion that while the pretexts given in the preamble of the Act of Assembly (the by-law of 1764) are hardly sustained, it was one of the natural fruits of political and sectarian excitement, where the narrow and indiscreet zeal of a party, in the enjoyment of corporate power, is brought in conflict with the equally intemperate animosity of a dominant party in the State. Had the Trustees of the College looked beyond the very limited circle to which their attention seems to have been directed, the controversy which occurred and which resulted in their temporary dispersion, might have been averted. The act of 1779 transferred the corporate powers of the college to a new institution, called the University of Pennsylvania, organized on the broadest and most catholic basis. The University continued in existence till 1784, when the act of 1779 was repealed, and in 1791, the two Institutions were united as a University, twelve trustees being selected by each body, and a Presbyterian Clergyman made the Presiding Officer. It should be remembered that the Assembly of 1779 was very liberal in its endowment of the new Institution, which it created.* A large portion of the funds of the present University are derived from this endowment, and most of the residue from that of 1764, the joint contribution of an Archbishop of the Church of England, and a Dissenting Minister. The trust, therefore, on which they are held, and on which it is hoped they will always be administered, is that of the widest and most tolerant Christianity.

On President Reed, the friends of the old College bestowed

* The American Philosophical Society for promoting useful knowledge was incorporated during Mr. Reed's Administration—on the 15th of March, 1780. Chastellux, in his Travels, gives an account of a Session of this Society, which he attended on the invitation of President Reed. Speaking of his own election, and the strict rules, which it is supposed have always guarded admissions, he says "Mon election, a été unanime, ce qui arrive très rarement. M. de la Fayette lui même, qui a été élu en même tems que moi, a eu une boulevée contre lui, mais on croit que c'est par méprise."—*Voyage de Chastellux*, tome i. p. 265.

the largest share of obloquy. Dr. Smith was his personal and political enemy, and was an habitual contributor to the party press. That the President concurred with the majority of the Assembly, is unquestionable, but that any other motive actuated him than a fair conviction that the interests of the community would be promoted by a change in the College administration, no one pretended. The measure originated in 1777, before Mr. Reed was connected with the Government.* It is well known that he differed from his friends as to the policy of putting a Presbyterian Divine at the head of the new University, opposing it, however, simply on the ground of expediency, urging that it might conciliate the Episcopalians to elect a moderate and patriotic Churchman. It was not, however, the time for moderate counsels.†

Mr. Reed was, it may incidentally be remarked, firmly attached to the Presbyterian Church, in which he had been educated. In one of his publications, a few years later, he said of it: "When I am convinced of its errors, or ashamed of its characters, I may perhaps change it. Till then I shall not blush at a connexion with a people, who, in this great controversy, are not second to any in vigorous exertions and general contributions, and to whom we are so eminently indebted for our deliverance from the thralldom of Great Britain. Their great misfortune is that artful men of other parties and persuasions have always found means to dupe them into divisions, discord, and weakness. But it is quite time to drop religious distinctions in Pennsylvania, and meet on the equal floor of generous catholicism. He who attempts to revive them, will arouse a sleeping lion, and he will do well to remember that there is no Hierarchy nor Great Britain now to fly to for countenance or assistance."‡

But the leading measure, that which has a National, and

* *Journals*, p. 180, &c.

† The gentleman suggested by Mr. Reed was Dr. Johnson of Connecticut.

‡ On the 7th of April, 1779, the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Scot's Presbyterian Church, presented to the President a complimentary address on the conduct of his administration. The address, and Mr. Reed's discreet and graceful answer, were published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 22d of April, 1779. He was a pewholder and regular attendant in the Pine Street Presbyterian Church, in this City.

lasting interest, is the act of March, 1780, for the GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. Its legislative history is rather curious. From an early period, the times of the first Proprietaries, Domestic Slavery had existed in Pennsylvania, and the attempts to eradicate it seem to have been very spasmodic. No general plan of abolition seems to have been at any time matured, and whilst the instincts of the Quaker settlement were adverse to its existence and encouragement, their efforts, stimulated on the one hand, from time to time, by the benevolent zeal of individuals, and discouraged on the other by metropolitan authority in Great Britain, were on the whole signally inoperative of good.* The Revolution, asserting a practical equality between man and man, effected much more, and the men of the Revolution, those too who were regarded as extreme in their democratic tendencies, had the honour of extirpating slavery from this soil. They effected this result, it will be seen, by a mode of gradual obliteration, which infringed no real or imaginary right, and wounded no prejudice however sensitive. Slavery never took deep root or spread its dark branches far in Pennsylvania. The number of slaves in 1780 was estimated at about 6000. In 1790 it was 3737; in 1800 it was 1706; in 1810 it was 795; in 1820 it was 211; in 1830 it was 67; and at this day, excepting a small remnant—a few aged pensioners on charity—Slavery may be said to be practically extinct.

The first suggestion of Legislative Abolition was made in the session of 1777, in the heads of a Bill furnished by the Council. On the 9th November, 1778, the Vice-President, Mr. Bryan, in his Message to Assembly, thus refers to it:

“The late Assembly was furnished with heads of a bill for manumitting infant negroes born of slaves, by which, gradual abolition of servitude for life would be obtained in an easy mode. It is not proposed that the present slaves, most of whom

* What was done, and what was attempted, will appear in two interesting tracts, one by Edward Bettle, of Philadelphia, and the other entitled “A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends against Slavery and the Slave Trade,” Philadelphia, 1843. In the note to Chapter lxi. of Mr. Cadwalader’s work on the Early Statutes of Pennsylvania, (now in the press,) is the most complete view of this vexed subject that I remember to have seen.

are scarcely competent of freedom, should be meddled with, but all importations must be forbid, if the idea be adopted. This or some better scheme would tend to abrogate slavery, the opprobrium of America, from among us; and no period seems more happy for the attempt than the present, as the number of such unhappy characters, ever few in Pennsylvania, has been much reduced by the practices and plunder of our late invaders. In divesting the State of slaves you will equally serve the cause of humanity and policy, and offer to God one of the most proper and best returns of gratitude, for his great deliverance of us and our posterity from thralldom; you will also set your character for justice and benevolence in the true point of view to all Europe, who are astonished to see a people struggling for liberty holding negroes in bondage."

It was not till the 5th of February, 1779, for there seems to have been some reluctance in the popular branch of the Government, that the Assembly acted by appointing a Committee, nor was even this done until President Reed had again earnestly called attention to it. "We would also again bring into your view, a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery, so disgraceful to any people, and more especially to those who have been contending in the great cause of liberty themselves, and upon whom Providence has bestowed such eminent marks of its favour and protection. We think we are loudly called on to evince our gratitude, in making our fellow-men joint heirs with us of the same inestimable blessings, under such restrictions and regulations as will not injure the community, and will imperceptibly enable them to relish and improve the station to which they will be advanced. Honoured will that state be in the annals of history, which shall first abolish this violation of the rights of mankind, and the memories of those will be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance, who shall pass the law to restore and establish the rights of human nature in Pennsylvania. We feel ourselves so interested on this point as to go beyond what may be deemed by some, the proper line of our duty, and acquaint you that we have reduced this plan to the form of a law, which, if acceptable, we shall in a few days communicate to you."

This suggestion, that the Executive had even so far matured a Legislative measure, seems to have produced much resentment in the Assembly, and to have given rise to one of those embarrassing questions of Parliamentary etiquette, which are ordinarily so difficult of adjustment. The Council rested their right of suggestion on the 20th section of the Constitution, which authorized them to *prepare business* for the Assembly. The Assembly claimed the exclusive Legislative function. Various and perplexed were the discussions on this subject, in which it is probable that some undercurrent of opposition to the abolition measure mingled an adverse influence. How far this conflict, which may be traced in detail on the Journal, would have continued, it is difficult to say, but on the 10th of February, 1779, the Council invited the Assembly to a free or personal conference, and the difficulty appears to have died away under the influence of the discreet and practical suggestions of the Executive. The record runs thus :

“ Agreeably to the order of the day, the House have held a conference with the Supreme Executive Council in the Council Chamber. The conference was opened by his Excellency the President, who on behalf of the Council declared their desire to preserve at all times a perfect good understanding between the House and Council, and for that purpose thought it necessary, whenever doubts or difficulties arise respecting the line of their duty, on the construction of any part of the Constitution relative thereto, that there should be a free and friendly conference. His Excellency then requested the sense of the House on two subjects.

“ 1st. What is to be understood by the Council preparing such business as may appear to them necessary to lay before the Assembly.

“ 2d. Whether, in the recess of the House, the Council may or ought to instruct the delegates of this State in matters not contained in the instructions of the Assembly.

“ The first matter being taken up, some members observed that, in their opinion, the House could not receive any business from Council in the form of a bill, as the House had the sole, exclusive right of originating bills, and passing them into laws. The President and Vice-President then declared, in behalf of Council, that they disavowed any claim officially or authoritatively to prepare bills, and impose them on the House, and that the Council never intended, or meant to be understood as making such a claim, but that it appears to them that the true and proper construction of the clause in the Constitution, when compared with that expressive of the powers of the General Assembly, may be properly construed into a duty in Council to

frame draughts or heads of bills, which the House of Assembly may or may not adopt or notice at their discretion; and that as Council, from having the execution of the laws, may reasonably be supposed to know when they are defective, and when new laws may be necessary, the sessions of Assembly would be shortened, the law probably more accurate, and the business of the State transacted more beneficially, harmoniously, and expeditiously. After some further conference on this head, the House adjourned to their own room, referring the other matters of conference to the afternoon.”*

Under the influence of these practical and friendly counsels the controversy seems to have died away, no further trace of it appearing on the Journals, and on the next day the Committee of Assembly reported a bill (probably in substance that of the Council) for the gradual Abolition of Slavery. On the 23d it passed to a second reading, and was ordered to be printed. Its provisions are substantially the same as those of the law subsequently enacted, with the exception of a penal prohibition of mixed marriages, that was not retained. In form, especially in the Preamble, it was different. At this point the action of the Assembly ceased, and its doubtful zeal suddenly abated. Again, to the same body, did it become necessary for the Executive to speak, and we find on 9th September, 1779, President Reed urged them to action.

“Our anxiety,” says the Message, “to perpetuate and extend the blessings of freedom, and enlarge the circle of humanity, induces us to remind you of the bill emancipating the children born of negro and mulatto parents. We wish to see you give the complete sanction of law to this noble and generous purpose, and adorn the annals of Pennsylvania with their bright display of justice and public virtue.”

The appeal was in vain. The Assembly soon after expired, and the measure was referred to the attention of their successors.

* Journals of Assembly, p. 309. During the Revolutionary War the system of Free Conferences between the Legislative and Executive authorities seems to have worked well. In more ancient times they were objects of proprietary jealousy. Penn, in the instructions to his Council, in 1686, (*Proud*, vol. i. 305,) tells them “3dly. That you admit not of any parleys or open conferences between the Provincial Councils and Assembly, but one with your approbation, propose and let the other consent or dissent according to Charter.”

The new Assembly met in November, 1779. One of its leading Whig members was George Bryan, who, when Vice-President, had, at a former period, as we have seen, urged this measure. On his motion, it was again referred to a Committee, who immediately reported it, very much in the form in which it now stands on the Statute Book. A new Preamble had been substituted, and on the 1st March, 1780, it finally passed by a vote of 34 to 21. The minority protested, mainly on the ground that the enactment was inopportune, being in the midst of a war about to be transferred to the Southern States, and that the privileges allowed to the manumitted blacks were excessive. Neither apprehension seems to have had any foundation. No Southern State—no Southern statesman—complained of the example. Obtrusive fanaticism had not then alienated the sympathies of our Southern brethren. They had neither been goaded, nor seduced into exaggerated theories by which they persuade themselves that Slavery is a blessing. The Pennsylvania statesmen of the Revolution thought and acted, in their treatment of this perilous and delicate subject, on principles of moderate and practical wisdom. Abolition with them was no wayward freak of headlong enthusiasm, but a reasonable measure of economical administration—the application of high principles of abstract equality, in order to eradicate, without violence, and by gradual processes, an admitted and inveterate evil. This it has effected; and, without the least agitation, Pennsylvania, by the wisdom of her Revolutionary men, has been relieved from the deep stain on her character, and burden on her energies.* Pennsylvania was first in the great work. The Constitution of Massachusetts

* The details of the Act of 1780 are presumed to be well known to every American student, and need not be repeated here in a personal Memoir. The Preamble has received, and deserves, for its eloquence and extreme beauty of expression, great praise. Tradition has assigned its authorship to different individuals, to Mr. Reed, to Mr. Bryan, to Paine, and to Doctor Franklin; but as is usual with that sort of gossip which is dignified with the name of tradition, no importance is to be attached to it. Franklin had been in Europe for several years. Paine's claims rest, I presume, on the fact that he was elected Clerk to the Assembly on the day the Bill was reported, but there is no resemblance of style to justify this pretension. My own best judgment on the subject is, that George Bryan was the

was adopted one day later, and it was not till 1783 that a judicial interpretation was given to its abstract assertion of human equality, by which Slavery was abolished.

Incidental to this brief notice of the legislative measures of Mr. Reed's administration, is that of his judicial functions. He was *ex officio* President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, instituted in 1780, and one of the two reported opinions of that tribunal is in the first volume of Mr. Dallas's Reports, in the case of *Montgomery vs. Henry*, delivered by President Reed. It was an Admiralty case, involving a new question of jurisdiction, and is treated with great precision of language, then as now, a rare judicial accomplishment. Thus was the Chief Magistrate of the State, in these times of varied responsibility, directing legislation, administering an active executive trust, presiding in the highest court of justice, superintending the recruiting service and the discipline of militia troops,—occasionally, as will be seen, taking the command in person, and leading them to the field,—and all this amidst the fury of party conflict, and in the agony of a civil and an Indian war. Little, indeed, is it to be wondered at that the overtasked spirit broke at last under the burden; for at this time, it must be remembered that Mr. Reed was not forty years of age. Five years later, he was in his grave.

author of the Preamble. I am in possession of no evidence which authorizes me to claim the honour for President Reed.—It may not be inopportune to recall public attention in this place to another Legislative measure of kindred interest. The Resolutions of the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania of 22d December, 1819, on the Missouri question. They were written by William J. Duane, then a Representative of Philadelphia. They breathe in eloquent language the Pennsylvania sentiment of 1780.—*Reed's Laws*, vol. vii. p. 674.

CHAPTER VIII.

1779—80.

Executive Administration of Pennsylvania—Contemplated Attack on New York—Co-operation of the French Fleet—Washington's Letter, 4th October, 1779—Colonel Persifer Frazer—Washington's Letter of 22d October—President Reed's Reply of 15th of November—Clothing Department—New York enterprise relinquished—State of affairs at Camp in the winter of 1779—Greene's Letters—Assemblies at Camp—Letters from Franklin and Gates—Horace Walpole's God-son.

WHILST these varied legislative measures were in progress, Mr. Reed was conducting the executive administration with singular energy and ability, and infusing into it the active spirit which he seemed to have the power to command. Nothing shows this more strongly than his correspondence with Washington, who relied on Pennsylvania and her Executive as his main and sure dependence. In the fall of 1779, Washington, at the instance of Congress and M. Gerard, determined, on the arrival of the French fleet, then hourly expected, to make an attack on New York. It was only prevented by the reverses at Savannah, and Count D'Estaing's diversion in another direction. Washington thus appeals to Pennsylvania.

WASHINGTON TO PRESIDENT REED.

Head-Quarters, West Point, 4th October, 1779.

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose your Excellency the copy of a Resolution of Congress of the 26th September, by which you will perceive they expect the arrival of his Excellency Count D'Estaing, and that I am directed to pursue measures for co-operating with him, and to call upon the several States for aid, as shall appear to me necessary for this important purpose.

In compliance with these directions, I have made an estimate of the force of militia which will be indispensable in conjunction with the Continental troops, and have apportioned this force to the neighbouring States, according to the best judgment I am able to form of their respective circumstances and abilities. The number I have to request of the State of Pennsylvania is fifteen hundred. I have rated its proportion thus low from a consideration of the extensive calls upon it for transportation and other aids on which our operations must essentially depend, and in which all the energy of the State will be requisite. In forming the estimate of the whole, I assure your Excellency I have fixed upon the smallest number which appeared to me adequate to the exigency, on account of the scantiness of our supplies; and I think it my duty explicitly to declare that the co-operation will altogether depend on a full compliance with these requisitions. If I am so happy as to obtain the whole number demanded, a decisive stroke may be attempted against New York, with a reasonable prospect of success. If the supply falls short, the disappointment will inevitably produce a failure in the undertaking. In this case, Congress and my country must excuse a want of enterprise and success, of which the want of means will have been the unfortunate cause. If the honour and interest of the States suffer from thence, the blame must not be imputed to me.

I have taken the liberty to dwell on these points to induce a persuasion that I have not in any degree exaggerated the number of men really necessary, lest a supposition of this kind, and a regard to the ease of the people, should relax the exertions of the State, and occasion a deficiency which would certainly be fatal to the views of Congress and to the expected co-operation.

I am now to add to this request another, equally essential, which is, that the most effectual and expeditious means be immediately adopted to have the men drawn out, properly equipped and embodied, to serve for the term of three months from the time of their joining the army, unless the particular service for which they are drawn out should be sooner performed. I beg leave to recommend Trenton as the proper place of rendezvous. If the laws of the State now in existence, or the powers vested in your Excellency are not competent to these objects, permit me to intreat that the Legislature may be called together without loss of time, and that you will be pleased to employ your influence to procure laws for the purpose, framed on such principles as will secure an instant and certain execution.

There are other objects which I beg leave at the same time, to recommend to the most zealous and careful attention of the State. These are making every exertion to promote the supplies of the army in provisions, particularly in the article of flour, and to facilitate the transportation in general of necessaries for the use of the army. Our prospects with respect to the flour are to the last degree [alarming]; we are already distressed, but when we come to increase the demand by so large an addition of numbers, we may expect to be obliged to disband the troops for want of sub-

sistence, unless the utmost care and energy of the different Legislatures are exerted. The difficulties we daily experience on the score of transportation, justify the equal apprehension on that account without a similar attention to this part of the public service.

These difficulties are sufficient to deter me from the plan I [intend] to pursue, were I not convinced that the magnitude of the object will call forth all the vigour of the States, and inspire the people with a disposition to second the plans of their Governors, and give efficacy to the measures they adopt. I doubt not our resources will be found fully adequate to the undertaking if they are properly exerted; and when I consider the delicacy of the crisis, the importance of these objects to be attained, I cannot doubt that this will be the case. On one side, the reputation of our Counsels and our arms, and an immediate removal of the war present themselves; on the other, disgrace and disappointment, an accumulation of expense, loss of credit with our allies, and with the world, loss of confidence in ourselves, the exhausting of our resources, the precipitated decay of our country, and the continuance of the war. Nor shall these evils be confined to ourselves; our allies must share in them, and suffer the mortification of having accomplished nothing to compensate for withdrawing their operations from a quarter where they had a right to expect success, and for exposing their own possessions to hazard in a fruitless attempt to rescue ours.

From the accounts received, we are hourly to look for the appearance of the French squadron on this coast; the emergency is pressing, and all our measures ought to be attended with suitable exertions. Every moment is of infinite value.

With the most perfect confidence on your Excellency's exertions, and on those of the State, with the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

•
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

This letter was received in the midst of the Fort Wilson excitement, and at a time when the President was suffering under severe and alarming indisposition. It was at once laid before the Assembly with a request that they would give it immediate and serious consideration. The Assembly, on the point of adjourning, acted decisively, adopting a resolution strongly indicative of the exigency, and of their confidence in the Executive. It was, as near as may be, a grant of absolute military power, and is also remarkable as adopting by implication the English mode of subsequent legislative in-

demnity ; the only instance that I know of in our history. It was in these words : " Whereas it is necessary that a body of militia should be immediately drawn forth into actual service to co-operate with the Continental Army against the common enemy, this House, therefore, fully impressed with the necessity of a spirited exertion at the present important crisis, do recommend to the Supreme Executive Council of this State, that they take such measures, either by drawing out the militia in classes, and influencing them to serve for three months by such bounties, exemptions, and other motives, as they in their prudence shall judge to be necessary ; or otherwise to form a corps equal to the number of effective men required for the said service, on such terms as they shall find to be requisite ; *referring the said Council to the succeeding House of General Assembly, for approbation and legal sanction of their proceedings in this case*, inasmuch, as the time this House can legally sit, is too short to admit of such formal proceedings as the business requires."

At the same time they authorized by law the forcible seizure under executive warrants, of provisions for the immediate supply of the Army. Such was the overbearing necessity of the times.

President Reed at once informed the Commander-in-chief of what had been done, and of his intention to put himself at the head of the new levies. He took immediate measures to organize his Staff, and thus writes to a Chester County friend and fellow-soldier.

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TO COLONEL PERSIFOR FRAZER.*

Philadelphia, October 15th, 1779.

SIR,

I suppose you will before this time be informed that General Washington has made a requisition on the State for fifteen hundred men. These troops

* PERSIFOR FRAZER was born in the City of Philadelphia, on the 10th August, 1736. His name appears among those of the signers of the non-importation regulations, of 25th October, 1765. He afterwards removed to Chester County, where he married a descendant of Isaac Taylor, one of the early settlers of the county, and formerly Assistant Surveyor-General of the Province. Mr. Frazer settled in Thornbury township, and was engaged in iron-making. On 26th De-

I shall command in person, and wish to have the assistance of some gentleman of knowledge and experience, particularly in the line of Adjutant-General, which office for the State is new.

If it is convenient to your private affairs, and equally agreeable, it will give me very great pleasure, and perhaps lay a foundation for some office of greater value and importance in the State. You will be at very little expense, as if agreeable to yourself you will make one of my family, which will be composed of gentlemen of rank and character, and I am sure such as will be agreeable to you.

You will please to favour me with your answer by the bearer, who goes express, and believe me, with much esteem,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JOSEPH REED.

P. S. If your answer should be conformable to my wishes, I hope you will follow it to town as soon as you can.

In answer to some suggestion from Mr. Reed, as to resuming Continental rank, Washington said :

WASHINGTON TO REED.

West Point, October 22d, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Three days ago, I received your obliging favour of the 4th, and was sorry to find you had been so much indisposed. Before this, I hope you will have perfectly recovered. Your early attention, and that of the Assembly to my requisitions, have my warmest thanks, and the more so from the situation in which they found you. I could wish, however, that the three months' ser-

cember, 1775, he was appointed to represent the county of Chester, in Provincial Convention, for the ensuing year. On 5th January, 1776, he was appointed by Congress, Captain in the 4th battalion of Pennsylvania troops, then commanded by Colonel Wayne, and went with the detachment to which he belonged, to Long Island, and afterwards to Ticonderoga, where he received an acting appointment as Major, from General Gates, 1st October, 1776. He was taken prisoner a few days after the battle of Brandywine, and was confined in the City of Philadelphia until the following spring, when he effected his escape and rejoined the army. He was present at the battle of Monmouth, 28 June, 1778; and was appointed by Congress, Lieutenant-Colonel, on 11th November, 1777, the commission to date from 1st October, 1776.

He resigned his commission on account of ill health, in October, 1778. He died 24th April, 1792. Professor John F. Frazer of the University of Pennsylvania, is a grandson of Colonel Frazer; and Brigadier-General P. F. Smith, of the U. S. Army, is his nephew.

vice of the militia had been made to commence only from the time of their joining the army. I need not enter into a detail of reasons for this with you, as your own judgment and experience, will, I am persuaded, have already anticipated them. Your intention of leading your militia, in case they are brought to the field, is a circumstance honourable to yourself and flattering to me. The example alone would have its weight, but seconded by your knowledge of discipline, ability, activity, and bravery, it could not fail of happy effects. Men are influenced greatly by the conduct of their superiors, and particularly so where they have both their confidence and affection.

With respect to the point to which you call my recollection, I confess, when you intimated your desire of Continental rank to me as it passed cursorily through my mind—it struck me as a matter of indifference, or at least, against which no important objections then occurred, inasmuch as it was to have no operation in the line; however, I must now candidly acknowledge, and shall do it without hesitation, from motives of general duty; from a confidence in your friendship, as well as in your zeal for the public service, and from the express authority of your letter, that having maturely weighed the subject, and examined the consequences to which it might lead, I think, it cannot be obtained either with a view to the purpose you mentioned, when you first broached the point to me, or with respect to the present occasion, for which the militia are called out.

The discontent, the jealousies, the uneasinesses that have prevailed in the army, the complaints which have been added, on account of rank being conferred out of the common course, are all opposed to the measure. These uneasinesses, my dear Sir, though not so prevalent among the different ranks of officers as they were, are far, very far from being done away, and would, I fear, proceed to more than their former height upon any supposed injury, whether real or imaginary, to what they esteemed their rights. Among the general officers, and those next in rank, there would be much reason to apprehend this, as they (particularly the former) have loudly complained on the subject of rank being given, even when motives of natural policy, and indeed necessity were urged to justify it, and reluctantly yielded to it, merely from that consideration. From hence, and as in your case, this consideration could not be urged, I should fear that it would be attended with greater disgust, not from any personal individual objection, but from an idea that the appointment itself materially affected their rights and those of the officers in general. Hence it is, that I have uniformly withheld my aid to all applications for brevet commissions to foreigners who had, or were about to quit the service, professedly never to interfere with the line of our Army.

The situation of our officers is delicate, and, perhaps, requires a greater degree of attention than that of any others, deriving no emoluments from the service, but rather losing at the best; patriotism, and a love of honour, are the motives to their continuing in it. These must be the considerations

which influence the conduct of by far the greatest part, and by these motives the officers are placed in a much more respectable point of view than if they were governed by interest, yet the ties are not sufficiently strong to induce their submission, or, at least, without great difficulty, to any measures they esteem injurious.

For these several reasons, I cannot in policy advise to any measures that might have a tendency to obtain it for you. Nor do I think, after mature reflection, that the rank being given by brevet, which is contrary to the present views of Congress, and their own Resolves, founded on the discontents which a contrary practice had created, or circumscribed in its extent by any qualifications which could be thought of, would alter the matter, or produce the least change in the sentiments of the officers.* In any case, the ideas of rank and precedence would occur, and I have too much reason to believe would give great uneasiness. The temper of these General officers is at this moment a good deal soured. Their distresses proceeding from the amazing depreciation of money, on one hand, and a discrimination of Congress in the allowance of subsistence, on the other, leads no fresh lever to set their discontents a-working. Rank, then, being the greatest, if not the only benefit they are likely to derive from their perseverance in service, and injured fortunes, they become more and more tenacious of its value, and attend the distribution of it with a watchful eye. I have been rather prolix on this subject, but thought it incumbent on me to assign the reasons which govern my opinion, because I wish you to be convinced that I do not want inclination to comply where I can do it consistently with any of your wishes. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

This letter was acknowledged on the 15th November, and the reply shows the varied matters of detail by which, at this time, and, indeed, throughout the War, the attention of the State Executives was engrossed.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, November 15th, 1779.

A continued state of indisposition, till within these few days, has prevented my acknowledging your very kind and obliging favour of the 22d ultimo. Fearing there might be some disappointment from operations and events which depended so much on winds, waves, and other precarious circumstances, I only made preparations for our march, and am very glad I

* Resolves 24th Nov. 1778, and 20th Feb. 1779.

proceeded no farther, as the militia would have added greatly to the general expenditure of provisions, and the disappointment would have abated much of that ardour, which at this period of the war, ought to be nourished with much care and attention. We have happily put the public to very little expense, and have not consumed a particle of its provisions.

I am very happy that I consulted you on the other point, previous to any application to Congress, who, I think, under all circumstances would not have refused it; but as I should be sorry to add to the public embarrassments, or receive any gratification which might injure the service, I shall decline any further thoughts of the matter. But while I subscribe to the policy of the thing, I can by no means assent to the justice of it. The objection seems to be that as no profit attends the service, honour should be the reward of those who have served their country with usefulness and fidelity; but those officers who are now in the line, what is to be their reward? They have given up the emoluments, which I am persuaded will not be inconsiderable at the close of the war, and if they are to be excluded from public notice, they will complain with justice and reason. In this class I would comprehend, especially, those who have, and yet serve you with honour to themselves, satisfaction to you, and advantage to the public. I should feel exceedingly for these gentlemen if they were to receive no distinguishing marks of public notice without offending the line; many of them served at times, and in capacities which would have rendered themselves sufficient for the enemy's notice, while many of those who would perhaps be most clamorous, were too obscure for such a distinction. I know some of these gentlemen have their feelings and apprehensions on this subject, though they do not express them where they could be best relieved. I consider myself as quite disinterested on this subject, as the favour of my State, and my own perseverance has made me sufficient amends for the injustice of Congress, who have not even indemnified me for actual losses. But it appears to me that the objections will apply to every gentleman whose claims, however meritorious, interfere with the views and prejudices of the line. Should Providence, in its goodness, spare your life to the close of the contest, there can be no doubt but some due notice will be taken of them, but I really think men in public stations oftener err in yielding to unjust clamour, than rewarding beyond true merit. I said before, that I considered myself quite disinterested, and I really am so, and as circumstances have turned out, feel much happier in every respect than if my desires had been gratified:—for while the Congress is composed of so many members, who by engaging in our party disputes last winter endeavoured to distress and disgrace me, I should not be fond of owing any obligation to them. I must therefore beg you would not consider any of the above observations applicable to myself. I will now, therefore, take leave of this subject, and proceed to another of a more public nature.

I yesterday received a letter from the Board of War, enclosing an extract of one from you, dated the 5th inst. The purport of both was, to request a

return of the clothing we received some time ago from the Clothier-General by their permission. If it is necessary for the public interests, we shall submit with as good a grace as we can, but we must first beg leave to state the matter so that it may be clearly understood, and also the consequences, with the hope that the necessity will be less apparent, and that if we cannot have the credit and satisfaction of clothing our troops, no portion of the blame may lay at our door. The little experience I had of the Army was sufficient to induce me to think that the clothing business was defective, both in system and execution, and when I was put at the head of the State, I deemed it a part of my duty to pay some attention to it, so far as regarded the troops of this State. I therefore frequently made inquiries, and always received for answer, from those best qualified to do it, that as to the common men, we need give ourselves no concern, there were 50,000 suits of imported clothing, &c., &c. This was confirmed by a subsisting Resolution of Congress, forbidding the States to purchase clothing on account of the United States. We therefore applied our whole attention to the officers, when, to our great surprise, we received a letter, dated 26th September, from the Board of War, informing us that we were and had been long looked to for supplies and clothing for the troops this winter. The time for importation was over; our manufacturers generally engaged for Congress, and in short, every means of complying with the requisition seemingly out of our power. However we set about it with alacrity and diligence, having first got the Resolve of Congress repealed which had been overlooked. As our industry was considerable, so it was tolerably successful, and all that remained was to order the issues, so as to make the clothing most useful to the men, and least expensive to the Continent. In order to do this, we concluded to furnish every man at once completely, instead of dealing out garment after garment, always making a shabby appearance, and neglecting to take care of any. I therefore applied to the Board of War to deliver us our quota of the clothing on hand, which they could estimate by their returns, at the same time informing them that it was our intention to make up the deficiency, let it be more or less, and to furnish the soldiers at a stated day as completely as possibly, and as near the manner practised in the British army as we could. They approved my idea, directed an estimate to be made of the clothing on hand, and uncontrolled and unsolicited by us in any respect, delivered 2000 coats, as our proportion of the clothing on hand. This we received, and with as much despatch as possible proceeded to make up the deficiency.

After procuring what we thought necessary, we gave up to the agents of other States, who were wasting here what remained, for as they had not been so vigilant as ourselves, we had engaged all the cloth until our wants were ascertained. We have proceeded on this plan so far as to divide the clothing regimentally—got the greatest part made up, and the rest provided with suitable trimmings; and the whole would have gone off this week. It is not alleged that we have got more than our proportion; we cannot

therefore conceive what ground there is for jealousy; and we cannot easily reconcile ourselves to give up our plan, formed and executed with so much care and diligence, to discontents and jealousies which have no foundation. We are of opinion many of the States are too negligent of their officers and soldiers; and if we are to throw all into common stock, it is that they may profit by our exertions. We have never restrained any agent from purchasing here, though we have had difficulties on that head. The Continental purchaser is on the spot, ready to take all he can; and during last summer, agents from Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware were all here purchasing; so that under these disadvantages it is admirable we have been able to effect what we have; and if, after all, the clothes are to be doled out piecemeal, and our troops continually drawing and constantly complaining, it will indeed discourage every future exertion. The inhabitants of the State labour under many inconveniences from the great draughts made from us by the Continental departments. Shoes are now sold at seventy dollars a pair, owing to the diligence of the officer in that branch, who gets every inch of leather and employs every workman he can hear of. Other things are in the same way;—it may be said it leaves the money here; but unfortunately that is deemed of so little value, that though we abound in that, salt and many of the necessaries of life are exceeding scarce. In this view of things we do not see any injustice done to the other parts of the army. The Clothier-General nor the Board of War do not say there is any mistake in their estimate: if there is, we are ready to rectify it, notwithstanding the many inconveniences we may sustain, and especially from giving up clothing which we might have had, but is now unattainable. But we think it reasonable and just that our troops should have the benefit of our care and diligence; and if this cannot be, we think the Continent should take the business entirely into its own hands, and its officers be responsible. We shall certainly disclaim all share in a business from which reproach will arise after every possible exertion is made. We are at a loss to conceive what difference it will make to the other troops if the Pennsylvania clothing is delivered here rather than at Camp, provided we get no more than our due share; but it makes a great difference to us, because we then know what deficiencies there will be, and can supply them. For my clear opinion is, and so I expressed it to the Board of War, that if thirty suits or coats only was our quota, I would rather have them delivered here than depend on ten times the number to be issued at Camp. If, after considering these observations and facts, your Excellency should think the clothing received should be returned, we shall certainly do it: but it is the clear sense of the Council to give up at the same time all the rest, and have no further concern in the business, which is attended with so much difficulty and disappointment.

As we have not seen the letter from the Board of War, to which yours seems to be an answer, we cannot tell to what the apprehensions are owing, or how the clamour has arisen: we received what they thought proper to give; if there has been any mistake, we are ready to rectify it. We have

no connexion with them or the Clothier-General, but in common with other States: as the public has placed confidence in them by appointing them to those offices, it is not to be presumed they would injure the other States to favour one. I should therefore apprehend that if the dissatisfied troops knew that an estimate had been made agreeable to the returns, and that this State had only received its quota, agreeable to a fair calculation, all uneasiness would cease. And it is perhaps worth consideration whether the Pennsylvania troops, being informed of all circumstances, will not be equally dissatisfied if they find themselves deprived of the beneficial effects of the care and industry of their own State.

We have a report of a fleet being seen at sea steering towards New York, which some think is the Count D'Estaing's; but it seems too improbable. As we expect to hear of the army's going into winter quarters, we hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you here. It will make many very happy.

Before this letter was received, General Washington apprised Mr. Reed of the abandonment of the enterprise against New York, in consequence of the difficulties and delays which Count D'Estaing had met with to the Southward.

There are certain periods of our revolutionary history which have monopolized all the sympathies of posterity. If the campaigns of '76 and '78 were times to try men's souls, the winters of 1780 and 1781 were times to try their tempers and power of endurance. The very absence of active enterprise added to this. The energies of the nation were exhausted, the enthusiasm of rebellion had subsided, the currency had reached its lowest point of depreciation, the army was unpaid, unfed, unclothed, and according to ordinary and reasonable calculation, every chance of rescue and success was gone. The student who will carefully read the correspondence, the most private and unreserved of those times, will do justice to the real heroism—the heroism of endurance which was then displayed. The Pennsylvania student will be proud to find that on her resources and her public men, the chief reliance was placed. The letters speak for themselves.

On the 16th of December, Washington wrote to President Reed from Morristown.

“ The situation of the Army, with respect to supplies, is beyond description, alarming. It has been five or six weeks past

on half-allowance, and we have not more than three days' bread at a third allowance, on hand, nor any where within reach. When this is exhausted, we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighbouring country. Our magazines are absolutely empty every where, and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them. We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war. We have often felt temporary want from accidental delays in forwarding supplies, but we always had something in our magazines, and the means of procuring more. Neither one nor the other is, at present, the case. This representation is the result of a minute examination of our resources.

"Unless, therefore, some extraordinary and immediate exertion be made by the States from which we draw our supplies, there is every appearance that the army will infallibly disband in a fortnight.

"I think it my duty to lay this candid view of our situation before your Excellency, and to entreat the vigorous interposition of the State to rescue us from the danger of an event, which, if it did not prove the total ruin of our affairs, would, at least, give them a shock from which they would not easily recover, and plunge us into a train of new and still more perplexing embarrassments, than any we have hitherto felt."*

On 29th February, of the new year (1780), Greene wrote in an equally desponding tone. "The King's speech and the debate in the British Parliament have arrived, and seemed to confirm what you conjectured, that there would be another campaign. How are we to carry it on? We are without money, credit or means to obtain one or the other. Never was a nation in such a situation, and yet, I am told Congress think all things are going smooth and easy. It is astonishing how they can be so indifferent to the approaching crisis, for a convulsion, there must, and will be in their affairs.

"We have opened an Assembly at Camp.† From this ap-

* Mr. Madison, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, 27th March, 1780, gives a very striking and sombre picture of affairs.—*Madison Works*, i. p. 43.

† In the possession of Thomas Biddle, Esquire, of this City, is the original sub-

parent ease, I suppose it is thought we must be in happy circumstances. I wish it was so, but, alas, it is not. Our provisions are, in a manner, gone. We have not a ton of hay at command, nor magazines to draw from. The people that have the public horses to winter, demand immediate payment for the time past, and refuse to keep them longer without it. If they persist, as I expect they will, I see nothing but that we shall be obliged to sell the poor cattle to keep them from starving. The inhabitants will not trust as they have done, while depreciation continues to rage.

“Money is extremely scarce, and worth little when we get it. We have been so poor in camp for a fortnight, that we could not forward the public despatches, for want of cash to support the expresses. Has this the appearance of a vigorous campaign?”

GREENE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Morristown, May 10, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

Time won't permit me to enter into the field of difficulties that lies before us, nor to give you a full history of our present distress. Let it suffice to say that the army has not four days' provision of meat in the world, neither have the States nor the Continental agents any in prospect, unless it can be had from the State of Pennsylvania. Much fault is found by a Southern gentleman, with your State, for want of proper exertions to save the army. It seems to be the intention of some here, to fix the greater part of the blame, if any misfortune attends us, upon your State. We cannot hold together many days in the present temper of the army, should there be a want of provision. I beg you, therefore, to make every possible exertion to forward us some cattle and salted provisions. It may save the army, and will, undoubtedly, disappoint your enemies. Nothing can be more popular with the army than such exertions, and it will give you such weight and influence in the military line, as will enable you almost to do and say as you please.

The great man is confounded at his situation, but appears to be reserved and silent. I write to you in the fullest confidence that you will not let the least hint drop from you of the information I give, as it may prove ruinous to me. I have difficulties enough, God knows, without adding to them.

scription list for the assemblies. It is a curious paper. An engraved fac simile will be found in Smith and Watson's *Historical Curiosities*, published at Philadelphia, in 1847.

The Marquis of Fayette and the person who will deliver this letter, enclosed in one to Mr. Pettit, is impatient to be going, therefore I shall only say I wish better times, and beg my compliments to Mrs. Reed.

With perfect esteem, sincerely yours,

N. GREENE.

In the midst of this gloom and perplexity, Mr. Reed received some letters of cheerful kindness and encouragement. Doctor Franklin had written from Europe in March of this year, "I am glad to see that you continue to preside over our new State, as it shows that your public conduct is approved by the people. You have had a difficult time, which required abundance of prudence, and you have been equal to the occasion. The disputes about the Constitution seem to have subsided. It is much admired here, and all over Europe, and will draw over many families of fortune to settle under it as soon as there is a peace. The defects that may, on seven years' trial, be found in it, can be amended when the time comes for considering them."*

The following letter is the only one in my collection from its accomplished, though most unfortunate writer, and belongs to this part of the Memoir. General Gates had come to this country during the French war of 1755, and had played a distinguished part in the drama of the time, but, like all the adult Englishmen, especially of relatively aristocratic tastes and associations, whom the mere spirit of adventure had attracted, he found himself often in relations at variance with ancient habits and opinions, and mingling in intrigues and fruitless schemes of personal advancement, sunk down at last into the perfect gloom of discontent. Such were Lee and Conway, and to a certain, though not equal extent, such was Gates. Lee's unpublished letters to Mr. Morris are filled with a morbid grumbling at things about him, and repining at a lot which he had cast for himself. Gates's personal history, dating its beginning at the time when the son of a British Prime Minister was his godfather, and its end when, the war being over, he became a discontented caviller at the Federal Constitution and the Washington Administration, is painfully

* The whole of this letter is printed, Vol. I. p. 397.

curious.* Nowhere did he appear to less advantage than when mingling in the cabals of '78 or the politics of 1794—nowhere to greater, than in his generous conduct to the captives on Burgoyne's surrender, and in his darkest hour of gloom and disappointment after the rout at Camden.† The following letter was written from his country-seat in Virginia, and shows that his mind was dwelling on plans of military operation to the Southward. Some of the personal allusions I have no means of explaining.

* Horace Walpole was Gates's godfather, and never did he write, in the infinity of his letters, one more full of sprightliness than that in which he refers to his godson. On the 22d March, 1762, just after Mr. Pitt had closed his great Administration, Walpole writes to George Montagu—"Why, the single eloquence of Mr. Pitt, like an annihilated star, can shine many months after it has set. I tell you it has conquered Martinico. If you will not believe me, read the Gazette; read Moneton's letter; there is more martial spirit in it than in half Thucydides, and in all the Grand Cyrus. Do you think Demosthenes or Themistocles ever raised the Grecian stocks two per cent. in twenty-four hours? I shall burn all my Greek and Latin books; they are histories of little people. The Romans, never conquered the world till they had conquered three parts of it, and were three hundred years about it; we subdue the globe in three campaigns, and a globe, let me tell you, as big again as it was in their days. Perhaps you may think me proud; but you don't know that I had some share in the reduction of Martinico; the express was brought by *my godson, Mr. Horatio Gates*; and I have a very good precedent for attributing some of the glory to myself. I have by me a love-letter, written during my father's Administration by a journeyman tailor to my brother's second chambermaid; his offers were honourable; he proposed matrimony, and, to better his terms, informed her of his pretensions to a place; they were founded on what he called 'some services to the government.' As the nymph could not read, she carried the epistle to the housekeeper to be deciphered, by which means it came into my hands. I inquired what were the merits of Mr. Vice Crispin, was informed that he had made the suit of clothes for a figure of Lord Marr, that was burned after the Rebellion. I hope now you don't hold me presumptuous for pluming myself on the reduction of Martinico. However, I shall not aspire to a post, nor to marry my Lady Bute's Abigail. I only trust my services to you as a friend, and do not mean, under your temperate Administration, to get the list of Irish pensions loaded with my name, though I am godfather to Mr. Horatio Gates."—*Collected Letters*, vol. iv. p. 220. In a letter to Sir Horace Mann, in 1780, he alludes to Gates's defeat at Camden.—*Letters to Mann*, vol. iii. p. 268.

† Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 346; Greene's Letter of 9th January, 1781, *infra*; Hawks's *Hamilton Papers*, vol. i. p. 475.

HORATIO GATES TO PRESIDENT REED.

Traveller's Rest, 10th May, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Many thanks for your affectionate letter. I shall ever remember it with gratitude. It is fit that I acquaint you, between friends, that I suspect a certain trading gentleman, who had his house burnt, will endeavour to prevent any son of mine from being in the suite of the Chevalier La Luzerne. Some hints I have received since I left Philadelphia convinces me my suspicion is well grounded. My son did himself the honour to address your Excellency some time ago. Excuse us for being thus troublesome; I know you have enough upon your hands without our interruptions. Bob is reconciled to a disappointment, and I would fain have him learn to be obscurely good; but youth and ambition will at times prevail, and make him languish for the busy world.* But we have troubled you sufficiently, and neither wish, nor expect your Excellency to be further anxious upon our account. I yesterday saw a Baltimore paper of the 2d instant, and am sorry to find our affairs to the Southward look so gloomy. That steady regularity with which Sir Harry Clinton proceeds, with the scientific skill and formidable apparatus of the Royal army will, I fear, be too many for our people; but the chance of war doth sometimes most unaccountably turn the scale even against superior wit and strength. A superior squadron of our allies may come upon the coast in time to save our bacon; there I confess I rest my almost only hope. The weather and this winter did as much for us as we had any right to expect from the elements, but all succour by land will now be too late to save Charleston; indeed, there is much more to save that way, and it is high time we were well upon the march to do it. Two-thirds of the British army, all their principal officers, their fleet and main apparatus, are now to the Southward. Where, then, ought ours to be? It may not be amiss to put you and all good Whigs upon their guard against that arch-fiend General Robertson, who is arrived at New York in the double capacity of Governor and General, and is the third in command upon the Continent. Be assured he is deeply entrusted by Administration, and knows how to make use of every knave in his government, and you and I know and believe there are as rank knaves and traitors in that government as in any in the Union. Whigs, take care. Are the cards packed for the next campaign? I have no information but the newspapers, and they come seldom, and are hardly legible when they arrive. The Chevalier is, I suppose, returned from Camp. I wish he would tell you as a friend, a soldier, and a statesman, what he thinks we ought to do, as it is so entirely the interest of

* General Gates's only son died in 1780.

his Court to be sincere with us. I should not have the smallest doubt that what he says he firmly believes. The family at Traveller's Rest present their respectful compliments to your Excellency, Mrs. Reed, and your fire-side, with sentiments of the highest esteem and regard.

I am, dear sir, your most obliged,

Faithful, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

CHAPTER IX.

1780.

State of Affairs in Europe and America—Surrender of Charleston—Washington at Morristown—Depreciation of the Currency—George Bryan—Mr. Reed's Letters in May, 1780—Favourable news from Europe—Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant—Distress at Camp—Irvine's Letter—Revolt of Connecticut Troops—Washington's Letter of 28th May—His opinions on Foreign Affairs—Duke of Richmond's Letter to Mr. Burke—Washington's Requisition on Pennsylvania—Lafayette's Letter 31st May, 1780—The Assembly confers Extraordinary Powers—Martial Law.

THE winter and spring of 1780 were gloomy periods of our history, for, with other causes of embarrassment and distress, was mingled that greatest of all social ills, the depreciation of a currency. When the correspondence is resumed this will be seen to be the greatest element of suffering. The general state of affairs at home and abroad was this:—Extensive naval armaments of the hostile powers were upon the ocean, thrown into occasional conflict, but principally engaged in capturing distant colonies and disturbing commerce. The French Cabinet was just determining, after long hesitation, to take the decisive step of sending military reinforcements to America; and Lafayette, to whose political tact and ability justice has never been done, had succeeded,—and was on his way to announce success,—in persuading the French Prime Minister to this effective course. The siege of Gibraltar was in bloody progress, and Sir George Rodney was earning his fame in the pursuit and dispersion of the Spanish marine. In Great Britain, a wild phrenzy of popular tumult, stimulated by sectarian spirit of the most virulent type, had involved the Metropolis in fire and bloodshed, and new rebels in the form of an armed and

infuriate mob in the streets of London, occupied the attention of the perverse and feeble Administration.

In America, Washington was in winter quarters at Morristown, with his posts extended northwardly to the Hudson, resolute in his determination to maintain a defensive attitude, and suffering extremities of destitution which equalled those of Valley Forge. It was at this time, as will presently be seen, Irvine wrote to President Reed from Camp that the officers had lived for days on bread and water, rather than take from the men any portion of the scanty allowance of meat. General Knyphausen was in New York, while Sir Henry Clinton was conducting the siege of Charleston with great vigour and success; and the new scene of the Southern Campaign of 1780 and '81 was just opening. On the 12th of May the garrison at Charleston capitulated; and it is curious to observe the flash of exultation which this event caused among the British politicians, even those who habitually desponded. "Since the reduction of Charleston," Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann, "we look on America as at our feet."* How this and other disasters affected the spirit of the Americans will be seen when the correspondence is resumed, though it will be observed that less effect was produced, less anxiety, less despondency, than by the corroding solicitude occasioned by the state of internal affairs, the helplessness of Congress, and the rapid depreciation of the currency. Throughout it all, Mr. Reed was active and energetic, and bore up with the most resolute spirit against the disastrous perplexities which threatened to overwhelm him and his fellow-councillors. In May of this year he thus wrote to his friend George Bryan, who recently had been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State.†

* Letters to Mann, vol. iii. p. 253.

† It would afford me great pleasure to furnish any further particulars of Mr. Bryan's life, than have already been published. None have however been procured. He was a native of Ireland, and died whilst a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He was an ardent Constitutionalist, and a man of great integrity and independence of character, though with most of the leaders of his party, he shared the wholesale and indiscriminate obloquy which party animosity heaped upon them. There never was a braver or a truer set of men.

PRESIDENT REED TO GEORGE BRYAN.

Philadelphia, May 11th, 1780.

I send you enclosed the three last papers which contain all the news stirring. The Marquis de Lafayette has brought with him considerable supplies of clothing, &c., but no troops, as was reported. There are no authentic advices from Carolina, but many reports not worth troubling you with. The two or three remaining privateers of this Port have met with some success, as you will see by the papers. It is said that a very respectable British Fleet will be at New York shortly, and also a considerable reinforcement at the fleet in the West Indies. I have but one reason for disbelieving it, which is that it is not in their power without leaving themselves defenceless at home. The seizures sent in yesterday, though vessels of twelve and sixteen guns have not more than a man to each gun.

A most surprising alteration has taken place at New York in the treatment of our prisoners, so that it is clear to me from this and many other circumstances, that the British system is altered from force to seduction. I wish we may be as able to resist the one as the other.

The Assembly have met, but have not made a House. The money is ready to be issued, but there is a most unaccountable sullenness in the merchants to receive it, and we do not like to press it or court them. The great scarcity of money, I hope, will give it a circulation, but it will not do to issue it at a depreciation.

PRESIDENT REED TO GEORGE BRYAN.

Philadelphia, May 18th, 1780.

I received your favour of the 13th inst., enclosing one to Mrs. Bryan, which I immediately forwarded. I should have been glad you had acknowledged the receipt of a letter from me, wrote ten days since, as it was expressed in terms of too much freedom to fall into bad hands. It is an unfortunate circumstance that so many offenders escape by one accident or another, and is really a reflection on the laws of police of the State, but I am inclined to think it in some degree to be ascribed to our politics and morals, both which are certainly much altered for the worse, since the unhappy situation of our currency. I think Mr. Henry is mistaken in supposing the County of Lancaster confined in its sessions to two days.* By an Act of Assembly, passed 22d May, 1772, entitled "An Act for Establishing Courts of Judicature,"

* Mr. Bryan was holding court at this time at Lancaster. It is not uninteresting to observe the regularity with which justice, in all its forms, was administered during the War.

Philadelphia was allowed three days, and Bucks and Chester two days when Lancaster was erected into a county, it was allowed all the privileges of any other County except the number of Representatives, so that I see nothing to hinder them taking the same number of days as Philadelphia County, and the Common Pleas has always exercised a power of adjourning, according to the exigence of the business. If you will look into the acts, I believe you will find my ideas to be just. If three days are not sufficient, an act of enlargement must pass, as in the case of Chester and Bucks, by an act dated 4th March, 1763, and I doubt not the Assembly, on application, would pass an act of this kind.

I this day received the enclosed letter from the magistrates of Northumberland, with respect to the Quakers sent from that county. These are really distressing cases when suspicion is to stand for proof, and necessity makes the law. I am fearful that an entire discharge will have very bad effects, and yet it seems a stretch of power to hold them in confinement when no cause is shown.

I send you the enclosed paper, which I think will give you a pretty competent idea of our foreign intelligence; the abstract you will find in Hall and Bradford, is taken from the letters of Mr. Adams, and Mr. Izard, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, all of whom have wrote largely and very encouragingly. The Marquis de Fayette has arrived here, but I cannot find that he adds to the intelligence. By accounts from New York, Charleston was safe, the 1st inst., and by an account this day which gains credit, a fleet of four French and six Spanish men-of-war of the line, from Hispaniola, under Monsieur de la Mothe Piquet, may be momentarily expected. We are all in high spirits upon it, and wait impatiently for confirmation, which, being mere ship news, it still wants. The army has been again in great want of meat, and what I dare say will surprise you, the Committee of Congress at Camp have wrote, that Pennsylvania alone can give them relief; by a private letter from Camp of good authority, this idea is impressed so strongly on the army, that any disaster will be laid at our door. I was never more mortified and distressed, especially as upon inquiry in the vicinity, I find that the cattle fit for use in this neighbourhood are so few and inconsiderable as to be unworthy of notice on such an occasion, and the time, expense, and difficulty of collecting is such, that no exertions could give even the transient relief they would afford in any tolerable season. The true state of the case is, that the people of Connecticut, disgusted with the disappointment they had met with in payment, and having had an unusual winter, have turned their cattle out, and decline giving a further credit. Winter being near at hand, Pennsylvania is to make up the deficiency. The neglect of the taxes has brought us to the brink of ruin, and we are daily groaning under the deplorable want of money. We find several of the collectors have, on the importunity of the Staff Officers in moments of distress, advanced the money in their hands. This is a most distressing circumstance, as it disables us from honouring the draughts of Congress, and leaves us exposed to severe

though undeserved reflection. Be so good as to give the collectors a hint on this subject, as I see plainly it must lead to great distress in our money affairs, and not to less confusion.

I wrote you in my last that the merchants were reluctant on the subject of the new money. It was not pleasant to urge them, but we found it necessary to take their sentiments, and Mr. Doz did it as of himself. At first there was great opposition and clamour, but Mr. Morris having expressed himself in its favour, stemmed the tide, and it met with an uncommon approbation, or at least a trifling opposition, Mr. Levy Hollingsworth, and Mr. James Caldwell being the only dissentients. The Assembly have voted it receivable in taxes and for fees to officers of government, &c., at the current rates of gold and silver, to be ascertained occasionally by the Council. The Continental money has evidently appreciated and still goes on, though slowly. The present exchange cannot be reckoned more than sixty-five for one. We have had no arrivals of consequence since you left us, but are in hourly expectations of some from France. Captain M'Pherson has returned from captivity, in New York, having lost the fragments of his fortune in that adventure. There is very great consternation in that City from apprehensions of a visit from Paul Jones, but we cannot learn there are any solid reasons to expect him, at least at present. Money, money is our great object at present, and unless we can find it, we shall have no army in a little time. Mr. Adams writes that there will be no difficulty in Holland, and that they impatiently expect Mr. Laurens, but while the Eastern gentlemen so much dislike the errand, and the Southern gentlemen the messenger, I fear he will make little progress.* By the last accounts, he was at Wilmington in North Carolina, waiting his final instructions, which are not yet gone, and are not like to be for some time.

I find there are several petitions against agreeing to the Resolution of Congress of the 18th March; but I believe the Assembly will pass the law with a suspending clause, and provided the certificates are secured in the plan proposed; but I am sorry to say this goes very heavily with Congress, and there is danger of its failing at last—a most dreadful event to Pennsylvania, which it is hoped honour and honesty will avert. Be pleased to remember me to your colleagues and the Attorney-General.†

* There is in my possession a MS. copy of Charles Thomson's report of the Debates in Congress in 1782, one of which of great interest relates to Mr. Laurens' conduct whilst a prisoner in the Tower, and his celebrated petition to Parliament.

† The Attorney-General was Mr. Sergeant, of whose career I am enabled to give the following account.

JONATHAN DICKINSON SERGEANT was a native of New Jersey. He was born in 1746, in the neighbourhood of Princeton. He practised law there till the Revolution began, when he immediately took part in it, and became a member of various conventions and assemblies. He was one of the Committee that drafted the former Constitution of New Jersey. In 1776, he attended the Congress sitting in Philadelphia, as a member from that State. In 1777, he was invited to accept

The cheering promise of aid from France which Lafayette brought, and the encouragement of the letters from the Commissioners, availed little to alleviate the piteous distress of our suffering soldiers.

GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE TO MR. REED.

Camp near Morristown, May 26th, 1780.

I forgot to inform your Excellency (in my letter of the 24th) that we shall be able to do with what hats we have till fall.

I have not hitherto troubled you with anything relating to the army in general, but confined myself to our own line, particularly as I knew official applications were made to all the States. However, matters are now become so serious, that it is absolutely necessary to speak plain; in short, without the most speedy exertions somewhere, and I believe everywhere, the army must and will disband.

We have had about four pounds of meat only in eleven days; neither officers nor soldiers have money nor credit. I can assure you with great truth, that many officers have lived some time on bread and water rather than take any of the scanty allowance from the men. We are told of supplies coming from Philadelphia and other places; but I fear the whole are merely temporary, and perhaps more imaginary than real. Be this as it may, they come on so slow and such small quantities at a time, that they rather serve to tantalize than do any real service. The Connecticut Line mutinied last Thursday evening about dusk, beat drums, &c., and assembled on their parade in order to march home, bag and baggage. Very fortunately, our poor fellows (though as hungry as they) were not so disposed, but, on the contrary, marched to quell them, which by the activity, spirit, and address of our officers, was happily effected without damage. Though I do not mean to throw the smallest reflection on any troops, knowing well that we ourselves have many foibles, yet I hope I may be pardoned if on this occasion I speak feelingly, and even with some degree of exultation, when I assure your Excellency that the good conduct of our line, in my opinion,

the office of Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and came to Philadelphia to reside. His house in Princeton had been burnt by the British army in its incursions in 1776, after the retreat of the American forces. He resigned his office in three years, and was afterwards employed by Congress in the trial of St. Clair, and by the State of Pennsylvania in the Wyoming controversy. In 1793 he died of the yellow fever, in consequence of his exposure as a member of the Committee of Twelve, who at that alarming crisis offered their services to the city. It seems scarcely necessary to say that the allusion to him and Dr. Hutchinson, in one of the letters of John Adams, published in the *Cunningham Correspondence*, is a fable. It was refuted at the time in the answer of Mr. Pickering.

kept the army together.* How these things may end, I cannot pretend to say, but am fully persuaded that unless the army is at least fed, we must be ruined. Something ought also to be done respecting pay; what that something is, I know not, but fear much that nothing short of hard money will do. The enemy have emissaries among us, who drop printed handbills, not only granting pardon to all who have been formerly in their service, but promising large bounties and many other shining advantages to all who will go and join the King's troops. This they press them to do with arms in their hands, in which mode they say they will be most welcome.

Matters seem to have been brought to a crisis by the following letters from Washington and Lafayette, which stimulated the Assembly to decisive action. Its journals and the minutes of Council during the recess, show how much had been attempted by the Executive, and what was at last consummated. It was at the end of the recess that the President organized, and on the 27th of May, according to the newspapers of the day, reviewed, in the presence of the French Minister, nearly three thousand volunteers under arms and fully equipped for service. "Five years'," Mr. Reed said in his address to them, "cruel war has not exhausted the zeal and gallantry of Pennsylvania." But more than the mere organization of troops was needed at Camp.

WASHINGTON TO PRESIDENT REED.

Morristown, May 28th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your favour of the 23d.† Nothing could be more necessary than the aid given by your State towards supplying us with provision. I assure you, every idea you can form of our distresses will fall short of the reality. There is such a combination of circumstances to exhaust the patience of the soldiery, that it begins at length to be worn out, and we see in every line of the army the most serious features of mutiny and sedition. All our departments, all our operations are at a stand, and unless a system very different from that which for a long time has prevailed be

* The revolt of the Connecticut troops is minutely described in Washington's letter of the 27th May, 1780, to Congress (*Sparks*, vol. vii. p. 54). The officers were faithful, and Colonel Meigs, Wayne's companion at Stony Point, was most active in bringing the mutineers to their duty. This mutiny was the first of the series of military disturbances. Pennsylvania and New Jersey followed the example of discontent. But on all, the blandishments of the British were inoperative.

† This letter, with many others, is lost.

immediately adopted throughout the States, our affairs must soon become desperate beyond the possibility of recovery. If you were on the spot, my dear sir, if you could see what difficulties surround us on every side, how unable we are to administer to the most ordinary calls of the service, you would be convinced that these expressions are not too strong, and that we have almost ceased to hope. The country in general is in such a state of insensibility and indifference to its interest, that I dare not flatter myself with any change for the better.

The Committee of Congress in their late Address to the several States have given a just picture of our situation. I very much doubt its making the desired impression, and if it does not, I shall consider our lethargy as incurable. The present juncture is so interesting that if it does not produce correspondent exertion, it will be a proof that motives of honour, public good, and even self-preservation, have lost their influence upon our minds. This is a decisive moment. One of the most (I will go further and say *the most*) important America has seen.

The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and if we disappoint its intentions by our supineness, we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor can we after that venture to confide that our Allies will persist in an attempt to establish what it will appear we want inclination or ability to assist them in.

Every view of our own circumstances, ought to determine us to the most vigorous efforts; but there are considerations of another kind that should have equal weight—the combined fleet of France and Spain last year were greatly superior to those of the enemy, the enemy nevertheless sustained no material damage, and, at the close of the campaign, have given a very important blow to our Allies—this campaign, the difference between the fleets, from every account I have been able to collect, will be very inconsiderable—indeed it is far from clear that there will not be an equality. What are we to expect will be the case, if there should be another campaign? In all probability, the advantage will be on the side of the English, and then what will become of America? We ought not to deceive ourselves,—the maritime resources of Great Britain are more substantial and real than those of France and Spain united, her commerce is more extensive than that of both her rivals; and it is an axiom that the Nation which has the most extensive commerce, will always have the most powerful marine; were these arguments less convincing, the fact speaks for itself; her progress in the course of the last year is an incontestable proof.

It is true, France, in a manner, created a fleet in a very short space, and this may mislead us in the judgment we form of her naval abilities; but if they bear any comparison with those of Great Britain, how comes it to pass that with all the force of Spain added, she has lost so much ground, in so short a time, as now to have scarcely a superiority? We should consider what was done by France as a violent and unnatural effort of the Government, which, for want of sufficient foundation, cannot continue to operate proportionable effects.

In modern wars, the longest purse must chiefly determine the event. I fear that of the enemy will be found to be so; though the government is deeply in debt, and, of course, poor, the nation is rich, and their riches afford a fund which will not be easily exhausted. Besides, their system of public credit is such that it is capable of greater exertion than that of any other nation. Speculators have been a long time foretelling its downfall, but we see no symptoms of the catastrophe being very near. I am persuaded it will at least last out the war, and then, in the opinion of many of the best politicians, it will be a national advantage. If the war should terminate successfully, the Crown will have acquired such influence and power, that it may attempt any thing, and bankruptcy will probably be made the ladder to climb to absolute authority. Administration may, perhaps, wish to drive matters to this issue—at any rate, they will not be restrained by an apprehension of it from forcing the resources of the State. It will promote their present purposes, on which their all is at stake, and it may pave the way to triumph more effectually, over the Constitution. With this disposition, I have no doubt that ample means will be found to prosecute the war with the greatest vigour.

France is in a very different position. The abilities of her present financier has done wonders. By a wise administration of the revenues, aided by advantageous loans, he has avoided the necessity of additional taxes. But I am well informed, if the war continues another campaign, he will be obliged to have recourse to the taxes usual in time of war, which are very heavy, and which the people of France are not in a condition to endure for any duration. When this necessity commences, France makes war on ruinous terms; and England, from her individual wealth, will find much greater facility in supplying her exigencies.*

* The practical sagacity of these speculations is very remarkable. With every inducement to look hopefully on French affairs and French character, Washington saw shadows of the coming future darkening the path. The war taxes of the American Revolution gave the crowning blow to the credit of the French monarchy. How different were the auguries of the British politicians, is apparent from a letter written by the Duke of Richmond to Burke a few years earlier, and which has always appeared to me very curious. In August, 1776, the Duke of Richmond visited Paris to secure the formal claim of his family to the peerage of Aubigny. It cost him much trouble and expense. "You may naturally say," he wrote to Burke, "is this worth the trouble? My answer is, perhaps not; in a philosophic view, few things in life are worth the trouble we take for them. To have a thing by halves, is not to me pleasant; since I have the grant, I would have it effectual. Besides, who knows that a time may not come when England may not be worth living in, and when a retreat to this country may be a happy thing to have. My prospects are gloomy enough to see, not very far distant, the moment when England will be reduced to a state of slavery.—I fear I see the time approaching when the English, after having been guilty of every kind of meanness and corruption, will at last own themselves, like the Swedes, unworthy to be free! When that day comes, our situation will be worse

Spain derives great wealth from her mines, but not so great as is generally imagined. Of late years the profit to Government is essentially diminished. Commerce and industry are the best means of a nation; both which are wanting to her. I am told her treasury is far from being so well filled as we have flattered ourselves. She also is much divided on the propriety of the War. There is a strong party against it. The temper of the nation is too sluggish to admit of great exertions; and though the courts of the two kingdoms are closely linked together, there never has been, in any of their wars, a perfect harmony of measures, nor has it been the case in this; which has already been no small detriment to the common cause.

I mention these things to show that the circumstances of our Allies as well as our own call for peace; to obtain which we must make one great effort this campaign. The present instance of the friendship of the Court of France is attended with every circumstance that can render it important and agreeable, that can interest our gratitude, or fire our emulation. If we do our duty, we may even hope to make the campaign decisive on this Continent. But we must do our duty in earnest, or disgrace and ruin will attend us. I am sincere in declaring a full persuasion that the succour will be fatal to us if our measures are not adequate to the emergency.

Now, my dear sir, I must observe to you, that much will depend on the State of Pennsylvania,—she has it in her power to contribute, without comparison, more to our success than any other State, in the two essential articles of flour and transportation. New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, are our flour countries. Virginia went little on this article the last crop (and her resources are called for to the Southward.) New York, by legislative coercion, has already given all she could spare for the use of the army. Her inhabitants are left with scarcely a sufficiency for their own subsistence. Jersey, from being so long the place of the army's residence, is equally exhausted. Maryland has made great exertions, but she can still do something more. Delaware may contribute handsomely, in proportion to her extent, but Pennsylvania is our chief dependence. From every information I can obtain she is at this time full of flour. I speak to you in the language of frankness, and as a friend. I do not mean to make any insinua-

than France. Young despotism, like a boy broke loose from school, will indulge itself in every excess. Here, habits and manners have put some check to it. Besides, if there is a contest, though it be a feeble one, I or mine may be concerned, and among the proscribed. If such an event should happen, and America not be opened to receive us, France is some retreat, and a Peerage here is something." (*Burke's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 120.) In twenty years from this, French hereditary titles were for ever obliterated, the blood of an aristocracy among whom the British peer hoped to take refuge was poured out like water; and in seventy years (1846) a Duke of Richmond, with all the wealth and honours of his ancestry, is enjoying the luxuries of Goodwood, and with equal sagacity to his uncle, foretelling the fall of the Peerage as a sequel to the repeal of the Corn Laws.

tions unfavourable to the State. I am aware of the embarrassments the Government labours under from the open opposition of one party, and the underhand intrigues of another. I know that with the best dispositions to promote the public service, you have been obliged to move with circumspection; but this is a time to hazard, and to take a tone of energy and decision. All parties but the disaffected will acquiesce in the necessity, and give their support. The hopes and fears of the people at large may be acted upon in such a manner as to make them approve and second your views.

The matter is reduced to a point—either Pennsylvania must give us all the aid we ask of her, or we undertake nothing. We must renounce every idea of a co-operation, and must confess to our Allies that we look wholly to them for our safety. This will be a state of humiliation and littleness against which the feelings of every good American ought to revolt. Yours, I am convinced, will; nor have I the least doubt that you will employ all your influence to animate the Legislature and the people at large. The fate of these States hangs upon it. God grant we may be properly impressed with the consequences.

I wish the Legislature could be engaged to vest the Executive with plenipotentiary powers. I should then expect everything from your abilities and zeal. This is not a time for formality or ceremony. The crisis in every point of view is extraordinary, and extraordinary expedients are necessary. I am decided in this opinion. I am happy to hear that you have a prospect of complying with the requisitions of Congress for specific supplies—that the spirit of the City and State seems to revive, and the warmth of party decline. These are good omens of our success. Perhaps this is the proper period to unite.

I am obliged to you for the renewal of your assurances of personal regard. My sentiments for you, you are too well acquainted with, to make it necessary to tell you with how much esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. I felicitate you on the increase of your family. Mrs. Washington does the same, and begs her particular respects and congratulations to Mrs. Reed, to which, permit me to add mine.

Lafayette had, as has been stated, just returned to the United States, after an absence of about a year, which he had improved by constant, and at last, successful action, in our behalf, at the French Court. He was the harbinger of Rochambeau's army. Though the following letter is the first that I have, it is apparent, from its affectionate and confidential tone, that he and Mr. Reed had relations of former and intimate friendship. It is

unnecessary to say that this letter is printed without even a verbal alteration.

LAFAYETTE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Head-Quarters, Morristown, May 31st, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Though you must on this moment, be more particularly engaged in public business, I can't help indulging the strong desire I feel of writing some lines to you, and from the affectionate sense I have of our old friendship, I flatter myself you will have no objection to lose a few minutes in this epistolary conversation. What I want to tell you, my dear friend, has been fully explained in public letters, and in a private one from our respected and heroic friend. I shall, therefore, confine myself in imparting to you confidentially, my private feelings on this important affair.

It is only as an American soldier—as an ardent lover of our noble cause, as one who, having been lately on both sides of the Atlantic, may the more properly foresee good and bad consequences, that he has been here, and there, led (let) into the secrets. It is not only on all the aforesaid accounts, that I am far concerned in the operations of the campaign. But you may lately guess I was not a stranger to the planning of the co-operation, which I then thought to be very important to America, which I now find to be necessary, and in the course of those arrangements, I need not mention that I ever spoke with a becoming pride of the American Army, of the effects which the virtue of America would make towards an honourable co-operation.

Those people are coming, my good friend, full of ardour and sanguine hopes, and may be every day expected. France and Spain are in high expectations. The world is looking on us, and all the European powers, that never saw America but through a spy-glass, are watching the opportunity of fixing, at once, their fluctuating opinions.

It is from me, on the moment of their arrival, that the French Generals expect intelligence, and you may guess that paquets shall be by them immediately despatched to Europe. An army that is reduced to nothing, that wants provisions, that has not one of the necessary means to make war, such is the situation wherein I found our troops, and however prepared I could have been to this unhappy sight, by our past distresses, I confess I had no idea of such an extremity. Shall I be obliged to confess our inability, and what shall be my feelings on the occasion, not only as an American and American soldier, but also as one that has highly boasted in Europe of the spirit, the virtue, the resources of America. Though I had been directed to furnish the French court, and the French Generals, with early and minuted intelligence, I confess, pride has stopped my pen, and, notwithstanding past

promises, I have avoided entering into any details, till our Army is put in a better and more decent situation.

We have men, my dear Sir, we have provisions, we have everything that is wanted, provided the country is awakened, and its resources are brought forth. That you know, can't be done by Congress, and unless the States take the whole matter upon themselves, we are lost. You will, both as a soldier, and a politician, easily foresee that the crisis is one way or other, a decisive one, and that if proper exertions are made, we may expect everything that is good.

As you are a military man, (and I wish it was for the moment the case with the other leading men in America) you know that filling up immediately the Continental battalions, is the way of having an army; and that cannot be done, but by militia drafts. Your State is the only one who undertook to give to their officers a decent cloathing. In all other matters, I hope it will take the lead as far as it depends upon your influence in Pennsylvania, and that goes a great length, I have no doubt, but that we shall be under the greatest obligations to that State. The expectations are also strengthened by the sense I have of your friendship to our General. But, my good friend, no time is to be lost. In asking your pardon for this long, confidential letter, I am, with the most perfect regard,

Your affectionate

LAFAYETTE.

The earnest importunity of these confidential letters was most opportune; and being communicated to the Assembly, they procured, at the instance of the Executive, the adoption of the extraordinary legislative measure which the Commander-in-chief hoped for rather than expected. Dictatorial powers were conferred on the Executive Council. So hazardous was it deemed at the time, so entirely unprecedented, that no record was made on the Journal of Assembly, nor is any trace of it now to be found, except in the newspapers. The resolution is there inserted in these words.

[Pennsylvania Packet, 10th June, 1780.]

In General Assembly of Pennsylvania,
Thursday, June 1st, 1780.

Whereas, the exigencies which may arise in a state of war are frequently of a nature that require such sudden and extraordinary exertions as are impossible for the legislative body to provide for by the ordinary course of law, therefore

Resolved, unanimously, That during the recess of this House, should the circumstances of the War make it necessary, the President or Vice-President in Council be authorized and empowered, and they are hereby authorized and empowered to DECLARE MARTIAL LAW, so far as the same may be conducive to the public security and to the safety and defence of the good and faithful citizens of this Commonwealth.

Extract from the Minutes.

THOMAS PAINE, Clerk.*

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, June 5th, 1780.

Your kind and truly obliging favour of the 28th ultimo came safely to hand, and the oftener I peruse it, the more fully sensible I am of the justice and importance of its contents. I do not know by what means the expected assistance from France has been procured, but it will certainly give a complexion to the Alliance in future, according to the reception it meets with here. I should be very apprehensive from the different state of improvement of the two countries, and perverseness of human nature, which often leads us to expect more than can be obtained, and be chagrined at the disappointment; that with all possible attention and care, difficulties will arise, and that it will greatly add to the burden laid upon you. But if they should want necessaries when the country abounds in them, we shall justly forfeit every pretension to respect and friendship, and become contemptible, not only to them, but to the world and even to ourselves.

Our difficulties lie with the rich, and not with the poor. While the war was conducted with emissions, the aid of the former was not wanted; that of the latter was to be had, and may be had now upon the same terms—that is, giving them a support for their labours; but to fight and starve, or work and starve, are equally impracticable. In my opinion, we have miscalculated the abilities of the country, and entirely the disposition of the people to bear

* Extract from Journals of Congress, June 1, p. 165. On motion of Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Duane, "Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of Congress be given to the Legislature and to the President and Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, for their ready attention to the matters which the Committee of Conference laid before them, and the satisfactory measures they have taken in consequence thereof."

A few weeks later, Richard Henry Lee wrote from Richmond: "The generous exertions of your State at the present great crisis does honour to the Commonwealth and its Councils. I wish the example may inspire, as it ought, the rest of this sleeping Union."—MS. Letter, 30th June, 1780.

taxes in the necessary extent. The country not immediately the seat of either army is richer than when the war began; but the long disuse of taxes, and their natural unpalatableness, have embarrassed the business exceedingly, and Tories, grumbling Whigs, and party, have all thrown in their aid to increase the discontent. These circumstances, which it was impossible to foresee in their full extent, made a foreign loan a matter of great importance, and even of indispensable necessity; and if anything has been omitted to obtain it, which we may yet retrieve, I should hope no time will be lost. The failure of the Eastern States to supply beef will be attended with some disagreeable effects here, for all the money we had or expected soon has been furnished to procure this article; and of course our means of procuring flour proportionably diminished. This State made an effort on this account which no other has equalled, as they mortgaged an estate belonging to the public in the neighbourhood of this city, for the special purpose of supplying the army, leaving the taxes for the general use of the United States: but this money, though secure in every other event than that of our failing in the contest, and drawing an interest, has met with embarrassments and opposition, partly from interested, and partly from other motives, which have very much delayed the supplies.* We have at length got in motion, and I hope shall be able to get a supply of stores for the summer; but the shock paper money has received, subjects all our resources to the caprice of interested or perverse individuals, more than is consistent with our safety or honour.

The address of the committee accompanied with a letter from yourself came at a seasonable moment, just as the House of Assembly was about to rise; they immediately passed a law for raising two men out of every company of militia; which I had endeavoured, but in vain to effect last spring.† This will produce about one thousand men from the whole State; about six hundred of which will go to fill up the ranks of the Continental army, the remainder we must endeavour to throw upon the frontiers, or some of our oldest and most established counties are in danger of becoming a frontier. In short there is no pacifying them without a body of troops, though experience has long decided how inadequate a defensive war is for support against the Indians. The representation of the distress for want of meat produced an immediate exertion, of which I hope the benefit must be felt by this time. It is true many of the cattle are not fit for slaughter, but they are the best we have.‡ It was thought best to continue this business,

* Act of 25th March, 1780, M'Kean's Laws, vol. i. p. 374, pledging the Province Island property. This was part of Galloway's confiscated estate, and there seems to have been a strange and culpable repugnance to use it.

† An act for the greater ease of the militia and the more speedy and effectual defence of the State, 26th May, 1780.

‡ An act for procuring an immediate supply of provisions for the Federal army in its present exigency, 1 June, 1780.

at least for some weeks, in order to have a stock in possession, and of consequence they will be continued some time, proceeding to Camp upon this principle, that if you have none better, these must serve, and if you have, the season of the year will admit their being kept till they are better.

We had proceeded thus far, and there seemed to be a very good disposition in all to advance the necessary measures with as much expedition as deliberative bodies usually do, or are capable of. The vesting extraordinary powers in the Executive was not so well relished; and it was too delicate a subject to be much pressed by me, especially as there appeared some reluctance on this point, and it is probable the House would have adjourned without touching upon it, had it not been so forcibly urged in your private letter. I was extremely embarrassed; I did not see any chance of its being done but by letting them know that it was decreed by you, a matter not of mere importance, but of indispensable necessity. This was done in a manner the most guarded and confidential, and had the desired effect, as they have vested the Executive with the power to declare Martial Law, so far as they shall deem necessary, and which gives us a power of doing what may be necessary, without attending to the ordinary forms of law. I have the pleasure to observe the measure is generally satisfactory; and as we shall endeavour to exercise it with prudence and moderation, I hope it may be productive of the good effects expected from it.

The loss of Charleston with its garrison and stores, which I think a very probable event, notwithstanding the sanguine hopes of some, and doubts of others, will, it must be presumed, rouse us from the insensibility with which we have hitherto carried on the war since 1777. And yet the scene is so distant, and the danger apparently remote, that I am not certain of this effect. The arrival of a few vessels from Statia or capture of as many, seems to be an event more interesting than an advantage gained or lost by the enemy, however considerable. And our country friends find their patriotism abate as their interests are affected by duties or taxes. I am inclined to think some stroke of adverse fortune necessary, and that lasting good may flow from it; for pretend what we may, the country is much recovered from the distress of the war, and really has the three great requisites of war, men, provisions, and iron, if not in abundance, in sufficiency for all our wants; our only difficulty is, to draw them forth; and for this, two things are essentially necessary, viz. union among the States generally and particularly. The parties in Congress have weakened the influence, and lessened the weight of that body; and the internal divisions have had the like effect on the governments; so that every measure, however necessary for the general good, has been timid, feeble, and languid; each fearing to give his adversary some advantage; while the disaffected and mercenary have raised their heads with an astonishing degree of insolence, to the great discouragement of the Whigs, especially in the middling and lower classes of life, who having been distressed by their attachment to our cause, and their minds neither feeling, or perhaps capable of feeling,

what is called liberality of spirit towards an enemy, have been mortified to find themselves no way distinguished but by their sufferings.

It is clear that the Royal cause, both in this State and Maryland, derives great advantage from the divisions of the Whigs; for in the rage and discontent of party, auxiliaries are so acceptable that we are not apt to scrutinize their motives and principles too narrowly. Upon these considerations, I have ever thought it a most necessary duty to sacrifice, as far as I am capable, any smaller resentments, and far from declining the paths of peace, to seek them. I have made more advances than one: the exposing my life to save that of my principal enemies, when they would otherwise have fallen a collective sacrifice to their own imprudence and to popular resentment, though an act of duty in my station, might have been evaded on many plausible pretexts; but it seems to be the allotment of Providence that in this respect I am to be unhappy. Conceiving it to be a proper time to unite and make a great and general effort for our national safety and honour, a few days before I was favoured with your sentiments on this subject, waiving all sorts of punctilio, I made a direct overture. I can only say, it was not accepted; but it was of so explicit and unequivocal a nature as to leave no farther grounds, unless time and a change of circumstances should produce it. I am, however, happy to find, that I have met your opinion in this respect; and beg you to believe not only that I was sincere on that occasion, but that as the public good, and your ease, appear connected in some degree, I shall embrace any favourable opportunity to renew it.

I feel exceedingly for the peculiarity of your situation, my dear sir, and also fear that your health may suffer in the conflict. But when I consider what just conceptions you have of the importance of the prize for which we contend, and the abounding affection and confidence of the country, I cannot but believe you may draw great consolation and support, that the present difficulties will lay a foundation for some system of solid supply, and a just consideration of the army; which has been too generally viewed through a very mistaken medium. For myself I shall only add, that the same motives which led me to leave domestic enjoyments and lucrative ease, in 1775, and partake your early exertions, now strengthened by more knowledge and warmer attachment, will induce me to strain every nerve, and run every risk, to promote the public service, as the most acceptable testimony I can give you of the truth of these professions; and if there is any particular case or occasion which, from want of knowledge or information, I may be likely to overlook, I shall esteem it a particular favour to be honoured with a few lines, and to which I shall pay the most special and animated attention.

I think it very happy that Major Lee's corps is in the vicinity of this place, as in case of an emergency, they may be wanted to execute measures which, though necessary, are unpalatable, and often ill-executed, where the feelings of acquaintance and personal friendship operate against the public

measures. They are in exceeding good quarters, on the best terms with the inhabitants, and, I presume, must be far too late to render any assistance to our friends in the South.

Mrs. Reed, who is pretty well recovered, returns her respectful regards, and thanks to Mrs. Washington and yourself for your polite attentions, in which I beg leave to include mine; and am, with the most unfeigned respect and esteem, dear sir,

Your obliged and most obedient humble servant,

J. R.*

* "I understand," says Mr. Madison in a letter to Governor Jefferson, "the Pennsylvania Legislature has invested the Executive with a dictatorial authority from which nothing but the lives of the citizens are exempted. I hope the good resulting from it will be such as to compensate for the risk of the precedent."—*Madison's Works*, vol. i. 48. When the Council of Censors met in 1783, after the war was over, this act of the Executive Council was severely censured by its Committee, as a dangerous violation of the Constitution, though it was admitted that public exigency seemed to authorize it.—*Journals*, p. 166.

CHAPTER X.

1780.

Martial Law proclaimed—Reed's Letter of 20th June—Bank of North America—Reed's Letter, 22d June—Greene's Letter—Paine's Letter to Mr. Reed—State of feeling in Pennsylvania—Correspondence of Washington and Reed on Public Affairs—Mr. Reed's exposition of Pennsylvania Affairs—Birth of his youngest son, George Washington Reed—His career in the Navy of the United States—His Death in 1813.

ON the 20th of June, Martial Law was in due form proclaimed, or rather, the extraordinary functions of the Council were formally announced, and on the same day the President wrote to Camp.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, June 20th, 1780.

I have received your favour of the 16th inst. directing the march of the City Light Horse, for which the necessary orders will be given, and they will proceed with all possible despatch. Upon the new plan of our militia, there are light horse attached to the troops of every county. The short time since the plan has been adopted, has not permitted a thorough execution; but if your Excellency should be of opinion they would be specially useful, I shall endeavour to have them completed as soon as may be. The troop of the County of Philadelphia is already well mounted, armed and in uniform. I do assure your Excellency every stimulus has been used to forward the recruits. According to information they are chiefly selected, and only wait a proper equipment: but as I found this was tedious in the country, I directed them to be sent hither, and they are now coming in. I am of opinion, if your Excellency could spare a few officers, say five or six prudent and discreet, who could bear with the oddities and humours of the persons with whom they will have to do, it might forward the men, and as it is proposed to set about a voluntary additional enlistment, as soon as this is over, we are sanguine enough to believe some men might be had;—for

this purpose some clever sergeants would be of great service. The spirit which your Excellency seems to wish, I think is recovered beyond expectation. The loss of Charleston, like many other seeming misfortunes may, perhaps, (heavy as it now appears,) prove a real blessing to America. A measure has been set on foot here, to establish a Bank, which, from the unanimity with which it is espoused, seems likely to produce considerable advantages and supplies to the army. It was at first constructed upon so narrow a scale as to meet with difficulties; but being since enlarged, I hope will prove a more fruitful source of supply than the occasional expedients from time to time adopted. Whatever measure promotes the public good, shall have my aid and concurrence, from whatever quarter it proceeds.*

We have just heard that Mrs. Washington is upon the road to this City, so that we shall have the benefit of her advice and assistance here; and if necessary refer afterwards to your Excellency.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, June 22d, 1780.

Your Excellency's favour of the 19th inst., requesting 250 wagons from this State, was duly received, and orders have issued accordingly. I fear the collection of them, considering the great demand by Mr. Cornay and other causes, will be more tedious than the exigency of our affairs will well admit. The number of wagons in this State, is most amazingly diminished. The County of Lancaster, which formerly returned 1,620, now has but 370; and other counties have fallen off in the same proportion. The miserable wages allowed by the United States, have occasioned many farmers to break up their teams; and proved a very great discouragement. The wages, at present, are but 6s. and 8s. hard money, per day. If more adequate wages could be obtained, I am persuaded this service will go on better. The quartermasters have several hundred ready-made wagons in this State, for which we could, by one means or other, procure horses, if a union of our force could be obtained. After they have equipped as many teams as they are able, and we have done the same, without drawing from each other; if they would assist us with the wagons, or we them with horses, I imagine we should make a very respectable addition.

I have ever understood, and so I do believe the fact is, that the deficiency of transportation from Trenton, does not arise from any other cause, than a want of money to pay the teams. This is a want we very sensibly feel

* The Bank of North America, to which Mr. Reed was an original subscriber. *Penna. Packet*, 27th June, 1780. A portion of this letter is here omitted. It relates to the Ladies' Subscription, and will be found below.

here ; for in the late scarcity of beef, we disbursed every shilling we could command, and the demands of the Quartermaster and Commissary are like sponges that soak up all new supplies. The money allotted by the State for flour, was, by direction of Congress, applied to the meat ; and I very much fear the consequences of this division will embarrass us.

The new plan of a Bank, seemed to go on with great spirit ; and I hope will continue to do so, as it appears to be the only system which can give timely aid : but the finger of party is so manifest, that I sometimes have my doubts. I have given it every forwardness in my power, and shall continue to do so, whatever my private opinion of the designs and plans, and secondary views may be. I wish the gentlemen here, had done the same with the money issued by the State, which is acknowledged by themselves to be well secured, and yet is most disingenuously evaded and depreciated. Had this seasonable and proper measure met with deserved and proper support, we should now have had 10,000 barrels of flour on hand, and a proportionable quantity of forage, besides many other articles of equal use.

We have now in the barracks 50 recruits, and more daily coming in ; we think it best to forward them as they arrive, and shall, as soon as equipped, send them off.

Mrs. Washington does us the favour of lodging with us, and was very well last evening.

GENERAL GREENE TO MR. REED.

Ramapough, June 29th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Since the enemy first made their entrance into the State of New Jersey, I have not had time to write you ; although I have several times attempted it ; but before I could make any considerable progress, something or other always interrupted me, and drew off my attention. Was I not fully persuaded that you have had as good or a better history of their operations, than I could give you, I would attempt it still ; but long stories and old news are the most disagreeable things in the world, either to relate or to hear.

Sir Henry Clinton upon evacuating this State pushed up the North River with such force and rapidity as if he had some serious designs upon West Point, but as he has spent several days fishing about from side to side of the river, I am persuaded he has nothing of the kind in contemplation ; he is now landed in West Chester, and seems to be sending his force towards the borders of Connecticut. I imagine his principal object is to destroy the forage of that part of the country, that should there be any operations carried on against New York, we may not have it in our power to avail ourselves of it. If this is not his object, it is difficult for me to conjecture

what it can be.* The force, and provisions that are in West Point render that place pretty secure. Great exertions are making for some offensive operations against New York in conjunction with the troops of our great and good ally. The efforts of one or two States will answer no valuable purpose. It will require the united exertion of the whole. Everybody's eyes seem to be turned to Pennsylvania. Great things are expected from you, both from the resources of the State, and the powers given you. Should you fail to exert yourself on this occasion, equal to the expectation of your friends, it will give your enemies a great handle to improve to your prejudice. I hope you will disappoint them, by exceeding even what they have a right to expect. You must not confine your views to Pennsylvania alone. I am persuaded you will be called forth into more important employments before this dispute is finished; therefore I wish you to pursue such a line of policy as will give you the most favourable reception among the States at large. Your internal enemies are making great exertions to provide for the army. It is noble, it is generous; but doubtless they have something further in view than just accommodating the troops. The army is the great object on which all political institutions must depend ultimately; and therefore you are never to lose sight of its concerns, its interest, or its operations. You know my heart and my wishes; and if my anxiety for your safety should prompt me to speak with more freedom than common, I hope you will impute it to its true cause, a desire to inform you of people's sentiments and expectations from the State of Pennsylvania.

It is really in contemplation to lay siege to New York; and the force you are about to send us will fall far short of what will be absolutely necessary from you, for so important a purpose. We are really in earnest; and if the other States exert themselves properly, and you fail, and the business falls through, it is not difficult to foresee where the load of blame will fall, and to whom all the after calamities of the war will be charged. Though this may not be just, it will nevertheless have its effect; and being properly improved by your enemies, will give your reputation and popularity a fatal stab.

I am confident it will be your desire to grant everything that can be asked or expected from you. The General, the Army, and in a word everybody have their eyes upon you, knowing the State abounds with resources of every kind, and that you have powers to draw them forth. It may be a little dangerous to push forward; but it will be certain ruin to stand still. Even the officers of your own State are anxious that you should do all in your power to put the army in a condition to operate to advantage.

* Sir Henry Clinton had returned from the South after the reduction of Charleston, leaving the British army under the command of Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry's arrangements with Arnold were near maturity. Arnold had for some time been urging his claims to the command at West Point.—*Sparks' Washington*, vol. vii. p. 95.

We are now in the greatest distress imaginable. The army without tents, and the officers without baggage for want of teams. When the officers see the country full of horses, and abound with every comfort, and feel themselves oppressed on every side with difficulties and distress, they are almost ready to mutiny; nor do I believe they will bear it much longer.

The General has it in contemplation to send me to Philadelphia; should I come, we shall have an opportunity to talk over these matters more fully.

Truly, yours,

N. GREENE.

I wish you not to hint anything of my coming to Philadelphia. My best respects to Mrs. Reed.

Whilst the President was thus urged to action from Camp, he was the recipient of all sorts of suggestions, feasible and impracticable, from self-constituted advisers at home. Among the last was Paine, who had resided in Philadelphia for several years, and who recently had been appointed to office by the Assembly. His suggestions were often sagacious, and always made in that direct and vigorous English which gave popular currency to all he wrote. He was a man of great resources, rich in economical schemes for the public, and poor in ability to devise or do anything for himself. The following is a specimen of his mode of thought.

THOMAS PAINE TO REED.

Sunday Morning, June 4th, '80.

SIR,

I trouble you with a few thoughts on the present state of affairs. Every difficulty we are now in arises from an empty treasury and an exhausted credit. These removed and the prospect were brighter. While the war was carried on by emissions at the pleasure of Congress, any body of men might conduct public business, and the poor were of equal use in government with the rich. But when the means must be drawn from the country, the case becomes altered, and unless the wealthier part throw in their aid, public measures must go heavily on.

The people of America understand *rights* better than *politics*. They have a clear idea of their object, but are greatly deficient in comprehending the means. In the first place, they do not distinguish between sinking the debt, and raising the current expenses. They want to have the war carried on, the Lord knows how.

It is always dangerous to spread an alarm of danger unless the prospect of success be held out with it, and that not only as probable, but naturally eventual. These things premised, I beg leave to mention, that suppose you were to send for some of the richer inhabitants of the City, and state to them the situation of the army and the treasury, not as arising so much from defect in the departments of government as from a neglect in the country generally, in not contributing the necessary support in time. If they have any spirit, any foresight of their own interest or danger, they will promote a subscription either of money or articles, and appoint a committee from among themselves to solicit the same in the several Counties, and one State setting the example, the rest, I presume, will follow. Suppose it was likewise proposed to them to deposit their plate to be coined for the pay of the army, crediting government for the value, by weight.

If measures of this kind could be promoted by the richer of the Whigs, it would justify your calling upon the other part to furnish their proportion without ceremony; and these two measures carried, would make a draft or call for personal service the more palatable and easy.

I began to write this yesterday. This morning, it appears clear to me that Charleston is in the hands of the enemy, and the garrison prisoners of war. Something must be done, and that something, to give it popularity, must begin with men of property. Every care ought now to be taken to keep goods from rising. The rising of goods will have a most ruinous ill effect in every light in which it can be viewed.

The army must be recruited, and that by the most expeditious possible means. Drafts should first be countenanced by subscriptions, and if men would but reason rightly, they would see that there are some thousands in this State who had better subscribe thirty, forty, or fifty guineas apiece, than run the risk of having to settle with the enemy. Property is always the object of a conqueror, wherever he can find it. A rich man, says King James, makes a bonny traitor; and it cannot be supposed that Britain will not reimburse herself by the wealth of others, could she once get the power of doing it. We must at least recruit eight or ten thousand men between Pennsylvania and Hampshire; but the measure by drafts must be strongly patronised. I am sure there are two thousand men in this State, who had better raise a man apiece, though it should cost them a thousand pound apiece, than not have a sufficient force, were it only for safety sake. Eight or ten thousand men, added to what we have now got, with the force that may arrive, would enable us to make a stroke at New York, to recover the loss at Charleston—but the measure must be expeditious.

I suggest another thought. Suppose every man, working a plantation, who has not taken the oath of allegiance, in Philadelphia County, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, Northampton, and Berks, were, by the new power vested in the Council, called immediately upon for taxes in kind at a certain value. Horses and wagons to be appraised. This would not only give immediate relief, but popularity to the new power. I would remark of taxes in kind,

that they are hard money taxes, and could they be established on the non-jurors, would relieve us in the articles of supplies.

But whatever is necessary or proper to be done, must be done immediately. We must rise vigorously upon the evil, or it will rise upon us. A show of spirit will grow into real spirit, but the Country must not be suffered to ponder over their loss for a day. The circumstance of the present hour will justify any means from which good may arise. We want rousing.

On the loss of Charleston I would remark—the expectation of a foreign force arriving will embarrass them whether to go or to stay; and in either case, what will they do with their prisoners? If they return, they will be but as they were as to dominion; if they continue, they will leave New York an attackable post. They can make no new movements for a considerable time. They may pursue their object to the Southward in detachments, but then in every main point they will naturally be at a stand; and we ought immediately to lay hold of the vacancy.

I am, sir,
Your obedient, humble servant,
THOMAS PAINE.

The two following letters, each eminently characteristic, are full of interest. That of Mr. Reed discloses the painful responsibility of the position in which he was placed, and contains the first intimation of the effects of anxiety and continued public care on his health, which, never very robust, now showed symptoms of the decline that hurried him in a few years to an early grave. The asperity of feeling which he manifests to his political opponents, though no doubt extreme, and perhaps in its individual direction sometimes unjust, was most natural. He was fretted and annoyed beyond endurance by the intrigues and animosities of his opponents.

WASHINGTON TO PRESIDENT REED.

Bergen County, 4th July, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

Motives of friendship, not less than of public good, induce me with freedom to give you my sentiments on a matter which interests you personally, as well as the good of the common cause. I flatter myself that you will receive what I say in the same spirit which dictates it, and that it will have all the influence circumstances will possibly permit.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania has vested you, in case of necessity,

with a power of declaring martial law throughout the State, to enable you to take such measures as the exigency may demand. So far the Legislature has done its part. Europe, America, the State itself, will look to you for the rest. The power vested in you will admit of all the latitude that could be desired, and may be made to mean anything which the public safety may require. If it is not exerted proportionably, you will be responsible for the consequences. Nothing, my dear sir, can be more delicate and critical than your situation; a full discretionary power lodged in your hands in conjunction with the Council; great expectations in our allies and in the people of this country; ample means in the State for great exertions of every kind; a powerful party on one hand to take advantage of every opening to prejudice you—on the other, popular indolence and avarice, averse to every measure inconsistent with present ease and present interest. In this dilemma, there is a seeming danger whatever side you take; it remains to choose that which has least real danger, and will best promote the public weal. This, in my opinion, clearly is to exert the powers entrusted to you with a boldness and vigour suited to the emergency.

In general, I esteem it a good maxim that the best way to preserve the confidence of the people durably, is to promote their true interest. There are particular exigencies when this maxim has peculiar force. When any great object is in view, the popular mind is roused into expectation, and prepared to make sacrifices both of ease and property. If those to whom they confide the management of their affairs, do not call them to make these sacrifices, and the object is not attained, or they are involved in the reproach of not having contributed as much as they ought to have done towards it, they will be mortified at the disappointment, they will feel the censure, and their resentment will rise against those, who, with sufficient authority, have omitted to do what their interest and their honour required. Extensive powers not exercised as far as was necessary, have, I believe, scarcely ever failed to ruin the possessor. The Legislature and the people, in your case, would be very glad to excuse themselves by condemning you. You would be assailed with blame from every quarter, and your enemies would triumph.

The party opposed to you in the government are making great efforts. I am told the Bank, established for supplying the army, is principally under the auspices of that party. It will undoubtedly give them great credit with the people, and you have no effectual way to counterbalance this, but by employing all your influence and authority to render services proportioned to your station. Hitherto I confess to you frankly, my dear sir, I do not think your affairs have been in the train which might be wished; and if Pennsylvania does not do its part fully, it is of so much importance in the general scale, that we must fail of success, or limit our views to mere defence. I have conversed with some gentlemen on the measure of filling your battalions. They seem to think you could not exceed what the Legislature

had done for this purpose. I am of a very different sentiment. The establishment of Martial Law implies, in my judgment, the right of calling any part of your citizens into military service, and in any manner which may be found expedient; and I have no doubt the draft may be executed.

I write to you with the freedom of friendship, and I hope you will esteem it the truest mark I could give you of it. In this view, whether you think my observations well founded or not, the motive will, I am persuaded, render them agreeable. In offering my respects to Mrs. Reed, I must be permitted to accompany them with a tender of my very warm acknowledgments to her and you, for the civilities and attention both of you have been pleased to show Mrs. Washington, and the honour you have done me in calling the young Christian by my name.

With the greatest regard,

I am, dear sir, yours affectionately,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Mr. Reed's reply to this admirable letter is very interesting, not only in illustration of the state of things in Pennsylvania, but of the character and tone of the writer's mind and spirit. It is, perhaps, the most interesting letter in this collection. It is the first that indicates the flaw in his bodily health which the overtask of intellect was producing, and whilst it was apparent to all around him, for friends and family were watching the fatal progress anxiously, he only admitted it in communion even with himself, when harassed and dispirited by the poisoned atmosphere of adverse party spirit, which he was compelled to breathe. He seems anxious to conceal from himself and his correspondents the symptoms of bodily decay which were hourly showing themselves. "I do acknowledge, my dear sir," he says to Washington, "that my health and spirits daily sink, and that I find I am every week less capable of business." And yet, rallying soon from the depression which thus clouded his spirit, he seems to forget the weakness into which he had fallen, and with the elasticity of temperament which was his most marked characteristic, looks forward cheerfully to a result, and confidently promises every effort on his part to secure it. His account of Pennsylvania affairs is very curious.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, July 15th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I must acknowledge and thank you most cordially for your truly friendly and valuable letter of the 4th instant. I consider it as an inestimable mark of that esteem of which, with a kind allowance for human frailty, I trust I am not altogether unworthy; and which I shall be solicitous to improve and preserve, as adding dignity and value to my life.

I am sensible of the delicacy of my station, and that whether I go forward, or stand still, I run infinite hazard. However, personal considerations are secondary. I am willing to run any personal risk, if the measure bids fair to serve the public interests. But there are political impossibilities as insurmountable almost as physical or moral; and which prescribe limits to power and influence equally impassable. The Turk, despotic as he is, cannot lay a new tax upon his subjects: nor can the king of France, arbitrary as he is, violate the rank of his army. The powers, therefore, supposed to be vested in me, however extensive, must, I take it, to be used with success, have a constant respect and attention to the feelings, and generally approbation of the people; I say supposed, because they are not vested in me singly, but in the Council, which is composed of five persons; some of whom have just pretensions, from their abilities, to very respectable characters. However they may be influenced by reason or argument, I neither wish, nor do possess that influence which gains the opinion, without convincing the judgment. Their concurrence I must have in every case; and then the powers must be exercised under the restrictions I have mentioned.

I entirely agree with you, my dear sir, that in general, the best way to preserve the confidence of the people, is to promote their true interest; but then a question arises, whether they ought not to see their interest; and the case to be such as they will be disposed to see it, when proper evidence appears. If a general declines battle because his interest is to delay, or retreat, he may venture, and ought to get over the false shame of appearing to decline action, for he is certain that time will do him justice; and there is no permanent rooted passion of the mind, to combat his prospects; but where property is to be invaded, force used, life, perhaps, endangered in the struggle (for we have had officers killed in execution of the clearest duty,) I conceive common prudence suggests not merely a decisive, but also a cautious line. For I have found by experience that when you touch the property, be it of Whig or Tory, arguments resulting from public good, or public necessity, have very little weight. In the present instance, the demands for supplies are of such magnitude that the Whigs, both real and professional, must bear great part. There are but two modes of pro-

curing them, persuasion and force; the former must be accompanied with money, which we have not, for such has been the waste of public confidence, that every dollar we can furnish is anticipated by the calls of Congress, long before it reaches our Treasury. Force then must be used, upon so great a proportion, that it may be said to be nearly all: but from whence is this force to come? It must be the force of the country against the country. Experience enables me to say, that it is difficult to turn the force of the country against the Tories, for in themselves they are considerable, in point of numbers and weight; but the support they receive from degenerate Whigs, for the sake of discrediting the government, enables them, if not wholly to defeat, to weaken the best measures for the public welfare; lest their enemies should get some reputation. I could give some surprising instances of this, if it was necessary; and that from men who figure highly as Whigs in profession. One mode they have taken is to depreciate and discredit the State money, which they know is one of the principal means of enabling us to procure the supplies. It is an undoubted fact that after acknowledging its credit, and agreeing, under their hands, to take it in all payments, it is frequently refused, but for goods; and then they lay an additional price, though they have solemnly agreed to receive it as gold and silver. By arts and practices of this kind, by thwarting every measure of government, refusing even communication, with the setting up schemes of individuals, drawing off both the articles, and the means of procuring them; they not only mean to raise some reputation themselves, (to which I have no objections,) but the principal view is, to discredit us for not doing what they have prevented; and drive us to use violent measures, which, in addition to the heavy taxes, will disgust the people, and induce them to seek relief in a change of Councils.

A general combination seems to be entered into among them, to exaggerate the resources and supplies of this State, far beyond their real bounds;—and what I consider as the most unhappy is that it is so agreeable, that every ear catches the impression with greediness; and even minds that we cannot suppose interested in our disputes, receive the impression, and act under its influence. My situation and acquaintance with the State, gives me a good opportunity to know, and I have taken care to inform myself. After making such a sacrifice of my own time and prospects, to the apparent ruin of my family, I cannot be suspected of sparing others unnecessarily; I can, therefore, with great truth, declare that the State does not possess those supplies which some give out; and it is obvious, from the state of things, which cannot lie. In the first place there are great numbers who will not cultivate, or improve their lands as formerly; but only raise what is barely necessary for their own support, and, lately, to pay the taxes: all that surplus which formed a great exportation, is not produced. In the second place, we have four entire counties, formerly productive of taxes and exports, which now draw their support from the interior country, and must

have constant advances of money, aid of men, &c., to an amount far beyond what strangers or distant observers can suppose. In the third place, the enormous debts of the Quartermaster's and Commissary's department, and the depreciation of the money, have poisoned all the springs of industry ;— finding, by experience, that they receive no value, not even a nominal one, well knowing that while a war is to be carried on, their property, if found, must go, they not only have not the usual spur to acquire it, but they are laid under the strongest temptations, to have as little as may be subject to this risk. A most infallible proof of what I advance is, that even for specie, so sought and coveted, articles cannot be procured, even of country produce, but at $33\frac{1}{3}$ advance on former prices. This surely is no argument of plenty.

Our trade is, by many, supposed to be a source of wealth and strength ; but every day's experience shows the fallacy of this reasoning ; a supply of a few necessary articles is indispensable, and for which the luxury of the country might be sent out ; but what are our importations ? Sugar, wines, spirits, and gewgaws of every kind, only calculated to gratify pride, intemperance and folly ; and for these, the men and provisions of the country are sent forth, in quantities and numbers, that would give us great relief, if applied to the service of the country. When the enemy made their incursion into New Jersey, and the most alarming consequences were apprehended, we laid an embargo which lasted only eight days ; but it is difficult to describe the clamour this created, though, in the judgment of the most considerate, a measure important to the supply of the City itself. The merchants sent a deputation to know our reasons, and to expostulate with us on the invasion of their property, and restraint of their business. In short, there is no measure we pursue which touches interest or pride, but a powerful opposition is immediately made ; and it has become such a fashion to find fault with the State of Pennsylvania, that most of our young politicians set out with it, as their first and capital lesson.

Being influenced very much by your Excellency's opinion last winter, that we could not rely upon voluntary enlistments, but must have recourse to draughts to answer the demands of the campaign, I pressed this measure last March with all my might, but without success ; such are the circumstances, and such the disposition of the people, that the Assembly would not venture to pass the bill, nor, if they had, do I now think it would have been carried into execution. For no measure has been more generally reprobated. The cry is for voluntary enlistments ; and the most confident assertions are made that a sufficient number of men would have been procured, and on better terms. And now, such is the temper of some of the Counties, that they absolutely refuse to march the draughts to the army, alleging the necessity of defending themselves and friends against the savages. The whole amount of these draughts would be 1260, of which we supposed about 1000 might be thrown in the line ; that we could then make some addition of voluntary recruits, pick up some deserters, so as to

fill up the deficiency stated last winter, viz. 1425 men. Except Militia, I dare not flatter myself with any considerable additions; and when it is considered what heavy losses this State had in troops in 1776, the great proportion of our people who will not bear arms under any pretext, the force to be kept on the frontiers, the drain which trade and privateers will unavoidably make, and the numbers which have been enlisted during the war, and consequently kept constantly in the field, subject to all the casualties of disease, desertion, &c., I cannot help thinking we are entitled to some degree of credit for what we have done, as well as what we may do. I have never sought after comparison with other States, but have ever understood that (Maryland excepted) this State always had a greater proportion of troops in the field than any State, unless we reckoned the ill-selected draughts that came in from some Eastern States, a proportion of which would not pass muster, and the rest went home as soon as they became soldiers. As to men enlisted for the war, this State has certainly ever had a great proportion, and would have retained a much greater, if the land office in Virginia had not afforded both an asylum and a temptation for desertion. We now have very sufficient evidence that great numbers of the deserters are at Kentucky and its vicinities, where they are free from taxes, militia duties, and other burdens, and enjoy a sort of savage freedom which is highly pleasing to some minds. With respect to Militia, I hope we shall be able to produce the number required without much difficulty, now the harvest is got in; but a call three weeks sooner would have been very distressing, and I fear impracticable, from the great scarcity of labourers in the country; that class of people being distressed by the war. I cannot say that I am very sanguine in my expectations of their being very useful, as they have not in many instances had that practice and familiarity which many other States have had; but the principal reason is, that the gentlemen having generally withdrawn themselves entirely, or into separate corps; their officers are not such as I could wish, though there are some of whom we expect respectable service.

We have been using every exertion to procure a number of teams, as well voluntary as by impress, and they are coming in daily; but the Quartermaster's Department is so deranged that it is attended with considerable difficulty. I have frequently been obliged to interest myself to get them forage and provisions, as they are not officially known to the Continental officers. The wagon-masters represent that they find their situation unsupportably distressing; that the number of teams in the country has decreased one-third; that of those from former service unpaid, the inadequate price and real change of circumstances, a part can only be got; the rest hiding their horses and gears, and even destroying their wagons, that they may not be compelled to go. To impress requires a force to support it; and from the nature of the service, a number of people to collect and keep the impressed articles. Most of the teams yet obtained are pressed. I hope we shall be able to make up the number of two hundred and fifty, and then we shall immediately set about the collection of horses, wherein, I presume,

there will be less difficulty, because we know they are in the country, and cannot be concealed with the same ease as gears, wagons, &c. We have quartered the whole number of wagons and horses on the counties, as well as the commissariat articles; but the expectation of fully answering such a demand, amounting to one-half and more (*viz.* one hundred and six millions of dollars) than all the money ever issued by Congress, cannot, I fear, be answered. I have not met with one person, in or out of Congress, belonging or not belonging to the State, who does not pronounce the requisition in its full extent impracticable. I hope we shall get one thousand horses at least, and that we shall be able to answer the requisition of February. If we can do more, we shall; for, as I observed before, we have actually demanded the whole; have furnished all the commissaries with blanks of various kinds of returns, and directed them to send us a weekly account of their progress. Our first instructions were for monthly returns, but they were not complied with, owing, as we suppose, to a want of skill in making the returns, and to a want of time to ascertain what they could do. I do not know how it is conducted in other States; but at least three parts of my time and labour are employed in doing this duty of Quartermaster and Commissary, to the great neglect of my other duties.

I have never, in any part of my life, gone through half the fatigue of business that I have done for these two months past; and it is very discouraging, that with so unremitted an attention to the public service, I find I am to be the subject of complaint. I do acknowledge, my dear sir, that my health and spirits daily sink under it, and that I find I am every week less capable of business. While I see hundreds round me securing a comfortable competence for themselves and families, enjoying occasional amusements, and even members of Congress themselves and their officers partaking of the satisfaction of cheerful society, I am sacrificing my youth, my profession, my whole time, and denying myself all sorts of relaxation, that I may answer, at least in part, the expectations formed at this crisis. My conscience and the knowledge those have who see my mode of life, must acquit me of any neglect; and if, after all this, I do not stand justified in the opinion of my country and friends, I think I have reason to conclude myself an unhappy and an injured character.

I have seen some letters from Camp, and one from Mr. Tilghman, that have hurt me a good deal, considering his connexion with the State, and the station he holds in your family. In this letter, not wrote to a person of the most prudence or consideration, he pronounces our exertions scandalous. This letter is doubtless shown about town. You observe, my dear sir, that our affairs are not in the train they ought to be; I am not sensible of any material defect, but this I can truly say, that they are in as good a train as our abilities, and the circumstances of things, will admit. This State, (setting aside the opposition to the government,) is composed of very heterogeneous particles. It has been settled by people from all countries, and a great portion of them very incapable to judge of the nature and extent of

the present controversy, which, arising from apprehension, more than a reality of oppression, now that they feel the heavy taxes, and the burdens which are necessarily laid, begin to reason from their feelings and grow extremely uneasy. They cannot anticipate the future happiness of their country, in being exempt from foreign laws and jurisdiction, when they find they must work harder and pay more than they did. Comparisons of former taxes, burdens, &c., are now frequent, and it is my firm opinion, sanctified by that of many gentlemen of more knowledge and experience, that the people of this State would, if too heavily pressed, more readily renew their connexion with Great Britain, than any State now in the Union. Even the arguments and influence of Tories have great weight upon Whigs, when under the pressure of heavy taxes and burdens, they are told, you are not well governed, and you will find (as you have found) that the yoke of Great Britain is easy and her burden light, compared with what you now endure. My best friends seem to have adopted a sentiment which surprises me, and use arguments of this nature: "Your enemies will serve the public effectually, and gain credit, you must therefore exert yourself." My dear sir, I wish every man to have credit and success, if he does serve the public, whether he is my friend or foe; and if he does it effectually, I am content he should have reputation, let him make what use he pleases of it to my prejudice. I am conscious of having no object to stand in competition with the freedom of my country; this was my first motive for going into public service, it is still the governing principle of my life; those therefore who really contribute to effect it, gratify me in the most essential point. But it does not appear to me that all the modes and measures taken, lead to that point. The opposition in this State has no strength or consequence out of this city, that they acknowledge; these separate schemes, therefore, serve only to embarrass, whereas did they, as they ought, join with the government, there is no point scarcely within physical possibility, we could not attain. They cannot have popularity, because the thirst of gain continually leads them into some scheme, opposed to the public interests, which is discovered. A late instance has occurred in addition to twenty others.

The inhabitants of Bermudas have, to discourage privateers, associated to buy no prize goods; the consequence was, that these kind of goods might be had next to nothing, on which the principal merchants in this City, send a person, or at least employ one, who had been proscribed, and is now under security for his good behaviour; he goes to that Island without permission, and there in company, they purchase those prize goods; the inhabitants of the Island had associated out of friendship to us, not to purchase and import them under cover of British papers. We have seized the goods, and upon inquiry all these facts turn out in proof. We have never been able to get the least assistance from them, to prevent taking deserters on board their ships, whereas a virtuous resolution to employ no captain who received them, would do more good than all the laws, proclamations, and searches, that could ever be made. But I find myself insensi-

bly drawn to a tedious length of letter, which my anxiety to remove any unfavourable impressions has hurried me into. I will, therefore, trespass but little longer. From what I have said, I hope you will not suspect my retiring in the public service while I have strength of body or mind. I must entreat you to do me the justice to believe, I shall strain the cord as tight as it will bear; those of government are never tied again, if once broken; and governing too much is the way not to govern at all. I will use every species of influence, argument, and authority I possess, to promote the views of the public at this juncture. I have done it for months past, as Congress are very sensible, from the letters laid before them, in consequence of a very unkind one from their Committee.* Every motive that can interest or impel the heart of man, I must have on this occasion; and why should it be supposed that they will not have due operation? I am not so stupid as not to comprehend the force and necessity of corresponding fully with the exertions of our ally; nor so insensible of national reproach, as not to feel for the honour of the country, if it should fail in a capital degree in its engagements. No one can more sensibly wish an end to the war than I do, or be more sensible that great exertions at this period may bring about this happy issue. Nor am I capable of mean and selfish pain, at seeing those who are my enemies, more successful in serving the public than myself, if it should be so. If I know myself, my errors are of the head and temper, not of the heart.

I rely, therefore, dear Sir, much on your friendship and candid construction; and shall take it as the greatest favour, if in the same free and friendly manner you have now done, you will tell me what is amiss, and how I may rectify it.

Mrs. Reed and myself are exceedingly gratified with the kind and obliging notice you have taken of the small proof of our regard, in giving your name to our new-born son; and shall be happy on every occasion to give more extensive and essential proofs. And as to your good lady, her company gave us so sincere a pleasure that we could not but regret that it was so short. We hope she got safe home, as we have not heard from her since we left her a few miles on the way.

I am persuaded you are so busy, that I hope you will not think of answering this long tedious letter, which has been wrote by snatches, as I could steal a few moments, at one time or another.

I shall, therefore, now conclude with mentioning, that next week will

* Of this Committee, General Schuyler was chairman. He was at this time in close correspondence with Arnold, and urging his appointment to the command at West Point, (*Sparks' Washington*, vol. vii. p. 95,) and being utterly unsuspecting of the deep infamy of his correspondent, listened, no doubt, with too ready an ear to his slanders of Mr. Reed and the Pennsylvania authorities, whom, as has been seen, Arnold hated with the intense malignity which crime ordinarily exhibits to its prosecutors. A curious letter from General Schuyler, dated about this time, will be hereafter referred to.

take forward 2000 shirts, and as many overalls for the State Troops, with a large supply of refreshments of other kinds; that we have sent off a person to Europe, some time since, to lay in a good supply of all kinds of clothing, for officers and 6000 men; so that we need not depend on uncertain and precarious supplies. Mrs. Reed received your kind favour a few days ago, and is exerting herself to comply with your direction; but there is at present a very great difficulty in procuring the articles, even for money.*

In General Washington's letter of the 4th of June, 'he thanked Mr. Reed for naming after him "The Young Christian." This was George Washington Reed, born in May, 1780, whose brief career, so far as it was public, is not without interest. He was thoroughly educated, and, after being graduated at Princeton College, in 1798, entered the Navy of the United States, as a midshipman. He was soon promoted, and in 1803, was lieutenant of the Nautilus schooner, under the command of Richard Somers, and attached to Preble's Squadron, before Tripoli. Lieutenant Reed was in command of the Nautilus in the attack of the 28th of August, and is referred to with high praise by the Commodore in his official account of that affair. On the night of the 4th of September, Somers undertook the perilous enterprise of entering the harbour of Tripoli, on board the fire-ketch, Intrepid. Its mysterious and fatal result is well known.

"It was eight o'clock," says the biographer of Somers, "in the evening, before the Intrepid lifted her anchor; the Argus, Vixen, Nautilus weighing, and standing in, in company. The night was sufficiently advanced to cover the movement, and all four vessels stood towards the rocks, under their canvass. The last person who left the ketch was Lieutenant Washington Reed, then first of the Nautilus. This officer did not quit his Commander, until it was thought necessary for him to rejoin the vessel of which he was now in charge. When he went over the side of the Intrepid, all communication between the gallant spirits she contained, and the rest of the world, ceased. At that time everything seemed propitious; Somers was cheerful, though calm; and perfect order and method prevailed in the little craft. The leave-taking was affec-

* This refers to the exertions made by Mrs. Reed and the ladies of Philadelphia, to supply the soldiers with clothes, which will hereafter be alluded to.

tionate and serious with the officers, though the common men appeared to be in high spirits. This was about 9 P.M. The Argus and Vixen lay off at a little distance from the rocks to attack the galleys or gun-boats, should either attempt to follow the party out in their retreat, while the Nautilus shortened sail, and accompanied the ketch, as close in as was deemed prudent, with the especial intention of bringing off the boats. Lieutenant Reed directed the present Commodore Ridgely, then one of the Nautilus' midshipmen, to watch the ketch's movements, with a night-glass; and as this order was strictly complied with, it is almost certain that this officer was the last person of the American Squadron who saw the vessel. She seemed to be advancing slowly."* In a few minutes later, the ketch exploded under the batteries of Tripoli, and the fate of Somers, and the gallant crew was darkened for ever. Somers, Decatur, Reed, and Stewart, the actors and anxious spectators of the doings of that night, were Philadelphia sailors. But one of them now survives.†

Lieutenant Reed accompanied General Eaton's detachment to the coast of Africa, and served on board the vessel which co-operated with him on that romantic expedition.

When war was declared against England, Mr. Reed having then been promoted to the grade of Commander, though in extremely delicate health, solicited active service and took command of the Vixen brig-of-war of 12 guns, then fitting for sea in one of our eastern ports. Whilst on a cruise in the West Indies, the Vixen was captured by the Southampton frigate of 32 guns, commanded by Sir James Lucas Yeo. On the night of the capture, both vessels being under heavy press of sail, were almost simultaneously wrecked on one of the Bahama keys. The Vixen sank so rapidly, that the prize crew barely had time to save their lives; the American prisoners having been previously transferred to the Southampton. On board the frigate, a scene of great disorder occurred; the British sailors broke into the spirit-room, and defied

* *Cooper's Naval Biographies*, vol. i. p. 107.

† Commodore Charles Stewart. Had Mr. Reed lived, he would, at this time, (1847) have been the fourth Post Captain on the Navy List. The list would be James Barron, Charles Stewart, Jacob Jones, George W. Reed.

all control on the part of their officers, and it was only by the aid of the American prisoners, officers and men, that the mutiny was suppressed.

On arriving at Jamaica, Sir James Yeo publicly returned thanks for the assistance thus rendered, and at once offered Captain Reed his parole. This was declined on the ground that he would under no circumstances leave his officers and crew, among whom the disease of the climate had already made its appearance, and over whom their commander, himself destined to be its earliest victim, watched with the most affectionate solicitude. Every day, in all the extremity of the climate, he repaired from Spanishtown to Kingston, to be with and relieve the wants of his men. The exposure soon produced its ordinary results, and he was attacked by a tropical fever. His constitution, never very robust, soon yielded, and on the 4th of January, 1813, he died at the early age of thirty-three.* The few survivors, to one of whom I am indebted for

* At the time of Captain Reed's death, a very graceful obituary notice of him was published in the *National Intelligencer* of 28th March, 1813, understood at the time to be from the pen of Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll. To this, and to the recollections of Captain W. M. Hunter of the U. S. Navy, who was the sailing-master of the *Vixen*, I am indebted for most of the facts stated in the text. (*Cooper's Naval History*, vol. ii. p. 256.) In 1828, the Navy Department despatched a national vessel to Jamaica, whose errand is thus described in a paper of 5th July, 1828, published at Kingston. "We noticed in our last the arrival of the U. S. schooner *Grampus*. We were not then aware of the precise object of her visit. She was directed to bring out a tomb-stone, to be placed over the grave of Captain Reed, who is buried in the churchyard of Spanishtown.

"Through the indulgence of the gentlemen to whom the stone is addressed, we have had an opportunity of viewing a beautiful slab of marble, with the following feeling record of the remembrance in which the friends of the deceased cherish the kindness shown to him in captivity."

In
Memory of
GEORGE WASHINGTON REED,
Master Commandant in the Navy of the
United States.
Born at Philadelphia, May 26, 1780,
Captured in the United States' brig of war, *Vixen*,
Under his command,
By H.B.M. Frigate *Southampton*,
He died a prisoner of war at this place,
January 4, 1813.

many of these particulars, cherish in grateful recollection the unremitting kindness, the almost affectionate attention bestowed by the British army and navy officers, to Captain Reed during his illness, and the honours rendered to his memory by the Governor and garrison. He was followed to his foreign grave by brave enemies, who had learned to do willing justice to the high spirit and generous tone of his character and bearing. Such was the honourable though brief career, which I hope to be excused for here alluding to, of one of Washington's earliest namesakes.

Unwilling to forsake his companions in captivity, he declined

A proffered parole, and sunk under a tropical fever.

This Stone

Is inscribed by the hand of affection as a memorial of

His virtues,

And records the gratitude of his friends for the kind offices

Which, in the season of sickness, and hour

Of death, he received at the hands of

A generous Foe.

As this form is passing through the press, the following letter has reached the author.

Baltimore, April 15th, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have yours of the 13th, in relation to my most valued friend, George W. Reed. I wish most sincerely it was in my power to write a reminiscence of him worthy of record, for if genuine sterling merit as an officer, seaman, and gentleman, were ever entitled to a remembrance in history, most certainly he was.

There was no one in the naval service of that day, who was held in higher estimation than himself; he was highly intellectual and an accomplished scholar, an agreeable, social companion, and the warmest of friends. He was first lieutenant of the *Nautilus*, and in command of her in the different battles had before Tripoli, while Captain Somers was commanding a division of gun-boats. On the night of the fatal explosion of the fireship, which destroyed the entire crew, the *Nautilus* was directed to follow her in under the batteries on shore, to pick up the boat that was intended to bring Somers and his crew off. The explosion took place between 10 and 11 p. m., and I, as second lieutenant, was requested by Reed to take the night-glass and not lose sight of her. Immediately on the explosion, we hoisted a light, and kept it flying until early dawn, in the hope that if any had survived, they might be found on a spar or plank. During all the time, we were so close in shore, the guns from the forts were firing at us, but in every instance they fell beyond us at least a quarter of a mile. At daylight we stood off to the fleet, and Reed went on board and reported to the Commodore.

I am your friend,

CHARLES G. RIDGELY.

CHAPTER XI.

1780.

Difficulties of Executive Administration—President Reed's Letters to Lancaster and Bucks Counties—William Henry of Lancaster—Galt's Life of West—Arrival of the Division of the French Army under Rochambeau—Militia Camp at Trenton—President Reed takes the field in person—William Moore Vice-President—Letter to Washington, 17th August, from Trenton—Letters to Mrs. Reed—Greene's resignation as Quartermaster General—Letter to Reed 29th of August—Washington's Letter of 20th August—Abandonment of the attack on New York—Mr. Reed's Letter to Chief Justice M'Kean—Revenue Plans—Land Office—Letter to Washington—Mr. M'Kean's Letter—General Wayne—President Reed's return to Philadelphia.

If, as the correspondence would seem to show, there were complaints and partial misunderstandings at Head-Quarters, they were most groundless; and, it is right to add, they were transient. The Executive functions of the State were never exercised under greater embarrassment, or with greater energy. Mr. Reed's correspondence with the local and subordinate officers shows what he was doing, and the perplexing difficulties with which he was contending. To Lancaster, then the richest County in the State, and the most exempt, by central position, from the effects of the war, he wrote in terms of absolute supplication for its share of revenue and supplies.

"I beg to know, my good friend, why your County cannot pay her share of taxes proportionably with other counties? Has she suffered by the enemy? Has famine, pestilence, tempest or bad seasons deprived her of the means? You will answer me in the negative. Are not her lands good, and her country populous? Did she not, at the last regulation of property, appear so considerable as to have almost double the

number of Representatives of most of the other counties—even of those which have contributed more to the public necessities than she has done? The truth is, there is not a week that some people from your County are not purchasing gold and silver in the city, and hoarding up, as too sacred to be touched for taxes.”*

* This letter, dated 19th July, 1780, was addressed to Mr. Henry, of Lancaster, of whom I am enabled to give the following sketch.

WILLIAM HENRY was a distinguished Whig of Lancaster, where he had an extensive manufactory of arms, established previous to the French war. He was born in Chester County, May 19th, 1729, his parents having emigrated from Coleraine, Ireland, in 1722. His talents and public spirit were soon distinguished by his appointment to offices of trust. He acted as magistrate for many years under the proprietary government, and, on the breaking out of the Revolution, of which he was a warm supporter, he served as Chairman of the Committee of Safety for the County at various times.

In '77 he was a Deputy Commissary-General, and was actively engaged in forwarding supplies of provisions and clothing from his district to the army at Valley Forge. He was also Treasurer of the county during the Revolution, and until his death, December 15th, 1786. In this capacity he rendered very efficient aid to the State Government.

He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society soon after its institution, and contributed several valuable papers to its “Transactions.” He was the inventor of what is called the screw auger.

In 1756 he married Ann Wood, of Burlington, N. J., a lady of remarkable business talents, who, after his decease, was continued Treasurer of Lancaster county for several years.

In 1784 he was elected a member of Congress. Whilst in session at Trenton he contracted the disease of which he died, December 15, 1786.

Seven children survived him; the eldest, William, continued the business of manufacturing rifles near Nazareth, Northampton, now conducted by his grandson, James Henry (great-grandson of the elder William Henry). His second son, John Joseph, the author of the Campaign against Quebec, a delightful little volume, now, I regret to say, nearly out of print, was in 1793 appointed President Judge of Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania, and died whilst holding that office in 1811.

Another son, Matthew, entered the army, and died in command of Fort Michilimackinac, early in the present century.

Benjamin West lived in Mr. Henry's house at Lancaster, and several portraits by him are in the possession of Mr. John Jordan, Jun., of Philadelphia, (to whom I am indebted for this sketch,) who is Mr. Henry's great-grandson. West's original painting of the Death of Socrates now belongs to James Henry, of Bolton Gun Works, near Nazareth, Pennsylvania. (*Galt's West*, p. 48, &c.)

It may not be amiss here to say that more grotesque blundering in American history is nowhere to be found than in Galt's *Life of West*. It would seem that

"You will please," he wrote to General Lacey,* "to proceed, with all despatch, to Bucks County, to forward the troops demanded by his Excellency, General Washington, from that County. In the equipment, you will issue such orders of impress, for wagons, horses, blankets, arms and accoutrements as you shall judge necessary at this important crisis, and to

the Scotch novelist and the octogenarian artist had strangely mingled their fancies and recollections.

* JOHN LACEY was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the 4th February, 1755.

He was commissioned a Captain, by Congress, in a battalion authorized to be raised in Pennsylvania, which was commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne. His commission was dated January 5th, 1776. He received it on the 20th of that month, and, by the 12th of February ensuing, he had recruited his complement of men. His company was attached to the 4th battalion in the Pennsylvania Line, and was soon marched to New York, and thence to Canada.

In consequence of a misunderstanding with Colonel Wayne, he resigned his commission at the end of the campaign, returned home, and was appointed a "Sub-lieutenant" of Bucks County, on the 22d of March, 1777, for the purpose of organizing the militia; such was his activity, he was the first who complied with the requisitions of the law.

He was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel of the militia on the 6th of May, 1777. He marched a regiment to White Marsh, and joined General Potter's brigade in November, 1777. While on this tour of duty, he was engaged in an active skirmish with the enemy, near the Gulf Mills, on Schuylkill.

On the 9th of January, 1778, he received the appointment of Brigadier-General of the militia of this State,—before he was twenty-three years of age,—and was ordered immediately to relieve General Potter. He commanded on the Lines, while the British lay in Philadelphia from the above date until the middle of May. His camp was attacked on the morning of the 1st of May by a detachment under Colonel Abercrombie, (afterwards Sir Ralph Abercrombie, killed in Egypt,) and Colonel Simcoe, from which difficulty he extricated himself with considerable address. A letter from Council to him, says, "Your conduct is highly approved, and your men have justly acquired great reputation by their bravery." He was that year elected a member of the General Assembly, and took his seat in November. The next year he was elected to Council, of which he was a member for the three succeeding years. In August, 1780, a Brigade of Pennsylvania militia was called out, of which he had the command, and was in almost continual service until October, 1781. During this command he married a daughter of Colonel Thomas Reynolds, of Burlington County, New Jersey, and, soon afterwards, removed to the village of New Mills (now Pemberton) where he became largely concerned in iron works; and was also much in public life, as a Judge and Justice, and member of the Legislature. He died on the 17th of February, 1814, aged 59 years. Doctor William Darlington, of Chester County, married General Lacey's daughter.—*Hazard's Register*, vol. iii. p. 295.

which all officers, civil and military, will yield due obedience, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. You will then proceed to Berks County for the same purpose, and with the like powers. After seeing the men in proper forwardness, you will then return to this city for farther consultation in the measures necessary for the troops, and in the mean time you will give such directions to Colonel J——, the Commissary of the State, and to the Deputy Quartermaster, with respect to your stores, and the transportation of your baggage, as you judge necessary and suitable to your rank."

To a resident of Bucks County, who had interfered to thwart the impressment service, the President wrote still more decisively.*

"Having expressed myself so fully to you and Mr. Thompson upon the necessity of procuring a number of horses, I am not a little surprised that you should have discharged those taken under the direction of General Lacey, and I cannot help considering it as adding to my embarrassments at a time when you gave me reason to expect assistance. It is much to be wished that gentlemen in public office, who, from motives of compassion, or a fear of offending, cannot take part in these necessary measures, would, on such occasions, avoid any interference, and leave persons of more decision to proceed. The Legislature having vested a power of declaring martial law in us, I apprehend you had not authority to counteract the orders given, which were, to send such horses as were taken, immediately down to this place for the accommodation of the militia about to march, agreeable to General Washington's orders: it will be a great disappointment if they do not come down, and will throw us all into confusion. As Mr. Thompson and yourself, by my accounts, discharged all the horses after taken, I must esteem you accountable for them. It is no season for such lax and undecisive measures, and you will probably, ere long, if the enemy are not drawn from the country, experience that though temporizing measures appear, at first view, easy and durable, they are ruinous in the end. You have already

* To Mr. Wynkoop.—August 11th, 1780.

done enough, and have property enough, to make you an object of the vengeance of the enemy and the Tory adherents, and if you do not secure yourself by your exertions, you have little to expect from our lenity or gratitude. I should not have said thus much if I did not feel myself much hurt, and the public service injured, by giving way to a little clamour, after the most odious and difficult part of the business was done."

These are taken at random from a copious correspondence, and show faintly the perplexities of the times.

In the mean time, the first division of the French reinforcements had arrived in Rhode Island, and a combined movement of the allied forces on New York was planned by Washington. On the 27th of July he made a requisition on Pennsylvania for her organized militia, which was promptly, and to the full extent of her exhausted means, complied with; and on the 27th of August, having issued a spirited address to the public, and relinquishing his Executive authority to the Vice-President, Mr. Moore, President Reed took the field in person, assembling his raw levies at Trenton, there to await the orders of the Commander-in-chief. On the 17th he writes to Washington.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Trenton, August 17th, 1780.

In pursuance of your orders, I am thus far on my way, with about 1200 of the Militia of the city and county of Philadelphia, and Bucks; those from the other counties not having arrived, but are by this time on their way. Every expedient that could be used for despatch has been adopted; but the natural slowness in their movements, the necessary equipment and other provision, has, unavoidably, consumed some time. As soon as it was known in this place that we were to rendezvous here, the Quartermaster informed me he was not possessed with one single article necessary for our accommodation, so that we were obliged to wait some days in town, until provisions, and even hay could be ordered up. It seemed to be a general expectation that, as the second division of the French Fleet was not arrived, and from the present position of the British Fleet, the Count de Rochambeau could not move, that our actual march would have been delayed until events permitted the armies to join in offensive operations. The bringing together such a body of men, and upon a route so unprovided as the present, with the number of wagons, horses, &c., will be attended with great expense of

money; and in its effects retard the supplies, which for a few weeks past, have come in with some spirit.

From Cumberland and York, I receive very encouraging accounts of the probability of furnishing the quotas demanded, but from the other counties, their expectations are clogged with conditions and terms of being supplied with money of particular kinds; the number of purchasers and variety of moneys passing, creates a competition and embarrassment, the effects of which are very visible. But I still flatter myself that the animation of the country and flattering prospects held forth, will induce a great exertion.

The weather being so extremely warm, and the necessity of taking everything we want with us, will forbid my marching from this for a day or two; I shall then take the route directed in your Excellency's favour of the 27th ultimo, by Princeton, Brunswick, Springfield, &c., on which any orders or farther directions will find me.

I shall be happy to hear from you as soon as possible, as, in consequence of a letter from General Dickinson to the Board of War, representing the distressed situation of this post, and this State, it seemed to be a matter of consideration, whether we ought to proceed.* In answer to their letter on this subject, I informed them, that having received your positive directions, and no countermand, I could not think myself at liberty to stop, unless I be wholly exculpated with you.

I expect this day the men will amount to 1500, and I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that we have so far provided ourselves, that I hope we shall not distress you, as militia frequently do, by heavy draughts on the Quartermaster's stores. We have our own tents, wagons, &c.

This it will be recollected was but a Militia Camp, with all its attendant vexations, and the President, with a fresh recollection of past annoyances of a similar character, bore what now occurred with mingled irritation and good humour. His letters to his wife, resumed now, after a long interval, and to his intimate personal friends, best show this.†

TO MRS. REED.

Bloomsbury, August 18th, 1780.

We got here safe the night we left you, about nine o'clock, and found our friends all well. The troops had not all arrived, but we have now got

* General Philemon Dickinson of New Jersey.

† Whilst at Camp, Mr. Reed continued to correspond on matters of military detail with Washington and the Executive Council. These letters are in my possession, but are not published, as they relate wholly to Camp duties.

between 12 and 1500 men; they were in the town when I came, but have since been brought down near the river, where we now have a very pretty encampment. They behave very well, and I hope have left all their ill humour at home. I do not expect to leave this before Monday, the weather being still very sultry and uncommonly hot. I have had no letters from the General, and therefore am apprehensive that they have gone to Philadelphia; if so, you will endeavour to have them sent after me as soon as possible. I shall exceedingly rejoice to hear of the arrival of the second Division, for in this respect I am as much a militia man as the meanest of my soldiers. I hate to lay idle, and now I am out, I shall be glad to have something done. Though at present, appearances are very unfavourable. We find the people of this place in much better humour with us than I expected, and I shall endeavour to give them as little trouble as I can.

You will write to me as often as possible in every circumstance and situation; it will afford me the greatest happiness and satisfaction. I am, my dear Hetty, &c.

J. R.

My love to your mamma and the children.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL GREENE.

Trenton, August 19th, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

This is the fourth time I have set down to write you, but the multiplicity of business and the nature of the subjects on which I wished to do it have constantly interrupted me; for before I could finish one letter, some new event respecting you and your department occurred, so as to change the whole complexion of the business. There have been some unhappy misunderstandings and misapprehensions of each other,—views and intentions between you and Congress, which artful spirits have inflamed. I have felt great concern on the occasion, as our public affairs never required better councils, or more valuable, able men to execute them. Mr. Pettit has communicated to me most of your letters, as he has those to you; and in general we have agreed upon the line to be pursued. You have undoubtedly great reason to complain of the public gratitude; so have the best men in all ages; but it is not the present men, or at least a majority of them, of whom you have most reason to complain. You, perhaps, will be surprised when I assure you that in my opinion you never had fewer enemies in Congress than at present. A keen and a just sense of ill-treatment has drawn from you expressions which would have been properly applied to some members of Congress now gone, and perhaps to a few that remain; but not being applicable to many, they have in some degree kindled that resentment which we are all subject to under reproach, the ground of which we are ignorant of, and the desert of which we are not conscious of. I observe in a letter

to Mr. Cox this morning, you mention the design of superseding you in command is not laid aside. I assure you it was never seriously entertained by a great majority of Congress. One hot member dropped it in a speech; another afterwards moved it with some more formality; but it was scouted, and respect paid to your military character, at the same time that your freedom as a Quartermaster gave umbrage. I beg you to excuse my not having wrote you before; I really was afraid to venture on paper the sentiments I wished to convey to you, and I had not time to make use of the cipher. It is a paltry excuse to say I had not time, and yet I can assure you that from manhood to this time, I never went through such a scene of business as since the scheme of specific supplies took place.

I hope to see you shortly. I am told that I do not stand so well at Camp as I wish. I am conscious of having done my duty fully, and there is no place to which I cannot go under the fullest sense of having discharged my duty in every respect. I have here about 1200 militia, which will be 1500 this evening. The remainder will be equal; and I know no hardships, danger or distress I am not willing to share with you. Perhaps a communication of expected or apprehended distress may have had some influence in calling forth militia so generally; if so, I do not think it a bad stroke of military policy. Adieu, and believe me, under every circumstance, your most sincere friend.

To the part of this letter, expostulating as to a contemplated resignation of the Quartermaster-Generalship, Greene's answer is manly and characteristic.

TO PRESIDENT REED.

Camp, August 29th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Your obliging letter of the 19th, I have had the pleasure to receive. I should have been happy to have had your advice and opinion before I sent in my resignation to Congress; but I thought then, and cannot help thinking still, that the measures pursued in Congress were calculated to compel me to quit the department. This might not be the design of the greater part; but I am persuaded it was the plan of a few, who influenced others to adopt their measures upon different principles than governed themselves.

You know I had got sick of the Department long since, not less from the treatment I met with in Congress, than with the army, and was desirous of resigning; but I should not have ventured upon the measure this campaign, if I could possibly have conceived I could have got through the business upon the new system. But it appeared to me that Congress intended to tie up my hands in such a way that I should either fail in the business or depart from the plan. In either case I should have been ruined. If I had not answered the demands of the service, I should have fallen into disgrace with

the army; and if I, to answer the demands of the service, had departed from the system, I laid myself liable for the consequences, which, to be judged of hereafter by persons altogether strangers to the circumstances, would not fail of being censured, if not subjected to heavy losses. Upon the whole, I considered myself as cruelly and oppressively treated. I did not wish to desert the business at a critical hour, nor did I wish to go into a quarrel with Congress. My letter of resignation may have more tartness in it than was prudent; but I am far from thinking it merited the severity with which they were about to treat it, for I am well informed it was seven days in agitation to dismiss me the service altogether. This they may do whenever they please. I am not anxious to continue a moment longer than I am thought useful to the community.

If I have many friends in Congress at this time, my enemies have the art of moulding them to their views. Leaving out Mr. Cox and Mr. Pettit serves to convince me that the measure was more personal than political.

What served to fix my determination for quitting the department, was just about the same time that I received the new system, I received a Resolution of Congress that the principal of the departments which handled public money, however diffuse, should be held responsible for all the subordinate agents. This appeared to me so unreasonable, as well as unjust, that the whole complexion of the business had something so cruel, and at the same time so personal in it, that I was determined to leave it, be the consequence what it might.

As to public gratitude, I expected none; especially in so changeable a body as that of Congress. For the members this year cannot know the merit of their servants last; and, therefore, not very likely to reward them for past services. All things considered, I am very glad I am out of the Department, though I have run some risk in getting out, and perhaps lost some friends by it.

I can assure you there are but few people here that are your enemies. If there are any freedoms taken with your character, it is unbeknown to me; except by Mr. Matthews, who has said some bitter things, however, not altogether personal, as they regarded the policy of the State more than your personal conduct.

This gentleman came to Camp with all the prejudices imaginable about him respecting the Quartermaster's Department; and he appeared to be afraid to make inquiry for fear of meeting conviction. But I believe none of the Committee leave the army, with more favourable sentiments respecting my conduct, and the order and management of the business, than he does. I believe him to be a well-meaning man; but a person of violent passions, great pride, and sudden prejudices. Under the influence of such a temper, he may take a very wrong bias, with very honest intentions. However, thus much may be said with certainty, you are not to number him among your particular friends. He and I have had several conversations respecting you, as I make it a rule in life, never to hear a friend of mine

spoken injuriously of, without endeavouring to defend his character and conduct. But they have never been attended with any heat, as it was only respecting the motives that led and governed your political conduct.

I have no wish to go into any farther disputes with him upon any matters; and, therefore, beg you to take no notice of this information.

I wish you would come to Camp, once in a while; it serves to set many things to rights. There is a matter now in the Pennsylvania line, which originated by the appointment of Major M'Pherson to the command of one of the light infantry battalions, that I fear will be attended with some serious and disagreeable consequences between General St. Clair and General Wayne.*

One time the matter got so high that I really apprehended the loss of your whole line. The great difficulty is, in part, got over; but there is a settled dislike taken place between the two generals. Perhaps you may have some influence towards bringing about a reconciliation; though I confess I see but little prospect of so desirable an issue. For this purpose, and some other matters which are taking place in New England, respecting a general convention of the States, I should be happy to see you at Camp.

I have been on a command to Bergen after forage and cattle. We gave the enemy a military insult; and our position here is nothing less than a challenge. We got some grain and long forages, about 2 or 300 head of cattle, and a few sheep. The enemy gave us no disturbance, though we waited three days to give them an opportunity to come out if they thought proper.

We are in a starving condition, not having an ounce of meat in Camp, and very little coming on.

I beg my compliments to Mrs. Reed, and I am, with perfect esteem,

Your affectionate

N. GREENE.

TO MRS. REED.

Bloomsbury, August 19, 1780.

MY DEAR HETTY,

I wrote you yesterday by Mr. Covenhover, which I hope you received; since that time, nothing has occurred worthy of notice. I wrote you that I should go from this on Monday or Tuesday, but I now rather expect to find myself here a few days longer, as it is not my intention to move till we are in some degree of order. I expected to find my men somewhat awkward, but they are more so than I could have supposed. It will not do for me or them to see an enemy till they know better how to behave themselves. Colonel Tanner was to send me a tin bowl—I hope it will not be neglected, as it will be very much wanted.

We are very pleasantly situated, and I find myself a man of more leisure than I have been for these twelve months.

* This incident produced great irritation in the line, which is fully described in the military correspondence of the time.

Owing to the failure of the junction of the French and American armies, and the embarrassments connected with the blockade of Count Rochambeau in Rhode Island, and of De Guichen's second division at Brest, by the British squadrons, the contemplated movement on New York was abandoned, and on the 20th of August, Washington with great reluctance communicated to President Reed an order to discharge the militia.

WASHINGTON TO REED.

Head-Quarters, Orangetown, 20th August, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I had this morning the honour of yours of the 17th, from Trenton. When I ordered the militia of Pennsylvania to assemble at their place of rendezvous, I was in hopes that our supply of provisions would have been adequate to their subsistence with the army; but from repeated and a late pointed representation from the Commissary-General, I find myself very unfortunately disappointed. I can with every exertion scarcely keep the army in this Camp (entirely Continental), fed from day to day. In this situation, it will be only adding to our distress to bring forward the men under your Excellency's command; to halt them anywhere between this and Delaware would be in fact the same thing, and although ordering them back to their counties may be attended with some inconveniences and delays hereafter, yet necessity constrains me to do it in some measure. I would wish you immediately to send orders to those of the remoter counties, who have not yet joined you, to return for the present, but to hold themselves in readiness to move again upon the shortest notice. Should you be of opinion that those of Philadelphia and the neighbouring counties, who are already embodied and under your command, could take a position in the county of Bucks, where they could be subsisted without interfering with the supplies coming in for the army, I should prefer it to disbanding them; for, to be candid, I fear so much time will be lost in getting them out again after the second division of the French troops and ships (hourly expected) arrive, that the season for action will have glided away, and that we shall on that account be unable to prosecute the intended operation. But should your Excellency be of opinion that they may return home, and be collected again in the course of a few days when wanted, I shall have no objection. The Delaware militia being but a handful of men, and those armed and accounted by the public, I have thought it better to order them forward, than by countermanding them, run the risk of losing the public stores which they have drawn. I am infinitely obliged to you for providing your people with Camp equipage, as it would not have been in my power to have furnished them with a sufficient quantity, if with any at all.

It is a most mortifying reflection that we should not, at this advanced period of the campaign, have magazines of provision for even one half the men necessary for our intended operations. I can only hope that this is owing to the new crop not having yet come into use, and that by the time of the arrival of the 2d division, upon which the commencement of our operations will depend, we shall be in a situation to draw a head of men together. I have every assurance from the French land and sea Commanders that the second division may, without some very unexpected accident, be daily expected. Should we upon the arrival of this reinforcement, be found, after all our promises of a co-operating force, deficient in men, provision, and every other essential, your Excellency can easily conceive what will be the opinion of our allies, and of all the world, and what will be the consequences in the deranged, distracted state of our affairs; and that we shall be found in this situation, unless the most vigorous exertions are made by the several States to send in those supplies which are demanded of them, I am as well convinced as I am of any one thing in nature.

Let me conjure you then, my dear sir, to make the proper use of every moment of the time which we have yet left. The fairest prospect since held out to us, and if we do not embrace the opportunity which now presents itself, and which is certainly within our reach, if we will make use of the means in our power, can we expect ever to have the offer repeated ?

I have the honour to be, with respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

P. S. I duly received your Excellency's favours of the 3d and 7th.

A word from Washington seemed only necessary to stimulate the activity of Mr. Reed's mind, and the following letter, written from the Camp at Trenton, shows how quickly and comprehensively it was applied to suggest supplies for new and urgent necessities.

PRESIDENT REED TO THOMAS M'KEAN.*

Militia Head-Quarters near Trenton, Aug. 25th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

The success of our public affairs seems now so entirely to depend on procuring money for supplies, that it is the subject of my thoughts both sleeping and waking. In our divided State, not only the public cause, but the exist-

* This letter has no superscription, but it is evidently addressed as in the text. Mr. M'Kean was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and at the same time a Member of Congress from Delaware.

ence of our government seems to depend upon it. The fate of our State money most evidently shows that this is the part in which we are vulnerable, and that in the present temper of the trading interest, which comprises the principal opposition of government, we have nothing favourable to expect from them. The taxes are not only insufficient, but what they are we cannot touch, being anticipated by the demands of Congress and the State. We must therefore, in my opinion, have recourse to the lands, and raise from them a supply, until Congress shall be able to re-establish itself, or some other source of supply is opened. My idea would be to sell rights, avoiding a present location, which might have a tendency to draw the strength of the country into the wilderness, to be paid for in hard cash; State money or Continental at such exchange as the Council should fix from time to time. The old prejudices of a monopoly of lands appear to me to be unreasonable; the purchase money and the taxes I think will always prove a check sufficiently powerful. But these, if real evils, in my judgment are not to be put in competition with the failure of resources to carry on the war. In Connecticut, the policy of which is in many respects admirable, they have imposed taxes payable in gold and silver, and State money. I am of opinion a tax of that kind with us would have good effects, and I would propose it to be laid on all wheel carriages of pleasure, plate, negroes, indented servants, single men above the age of twenty-five, (*viz.* bachelors,) prize goods, foreign wines, (those of French growth for the present politically excepted.) Nor should I be sorry to see West India goods generally subject to some duty, salt excepted. Unless we can do something of this kind, how shall we pay the interest of the money we have sent Mr. Searle* abroad to borrow? Or suppose we were to pay off the interest of the State money next May with the product of this tax, it would give that money immediate circulation and permanent credit. I wish you, my good sir, to spend a few thoughts on these points; and as the Assembly will pay much attention to your sentiments, if you could digest some plan of this kind, the public would be greatly benefited. I intended to have marched from this place this day, but received letters from the General, dated 20th, requesting me to continue where we were; the second division of the French fleet not being arrived, and of course the proposed expedition against New York being delayed. My people behave with a regularity of discipline beyond anything I ever saw in militia. A flock of chickens would go untouched through the camp.

TO MRS. REED.

Bloomsbury, August 26th, 1780.

MY DEAR HETTY,

Your affectionate favours of the 20th and 22d inst. came safe to hand by Dr. Cutting. We have been very kindly received by our friends here, and as yet have preserved so much good order as to prevent any material injury

* Mr. Searle's mission to Europe will be described in the succeeding chapters.

to our hospitable entertainers. Mr. Cox's water-melon patch has been robbed, which of course must be imputed to the militia, though it is very probable the same hands have been busy this year as the last. You will find a letter from Mr. Barclay to me, which was left on the chimney-piece in town, which I should be glad you would send to Mr. Moore. On the 23d inst. I received a long letter from the General, in answer to the one I wrote from this on my arrival here. He laments the situation of his army in point of provision, and desires we would not proceed till further orders. He has left it to me to stay in New Jersey, or go into Bucks County, or in case the men can easily be got out again, to let them go home and be in readiness to march at a short warning. The latter being, in my opinion, impracticable, and staying in Bucks County not eligible, I have thought it best to stay here. He says there is daily expectation of the second division of the French fleet, on whose arrival he would have us come forward. I am almost tired of this state of inactivity, but, on the whole, think it preferable to disbanding the militia, and calling out a new set. It is too obvious that the bulk of the people are weary of war. The rich pay their fines, and avoid the duty; the poor, having little or no stake in the game, seek their indulgences also, and I fear these overstrained exertions will leave us in a state of great weakness. As far as we can yet judge, the French reinforcement will be an unlucky measure; but it may, and I hope will prove otherwise. As to going to Head-Quarters, I shall not do it unless something particular should make it necessary. I should not care to leave the troops, in the first place; and, as matters are circumstanced, I should not be fond of going to Head-Quarters uninvited. As your resolutions of going to town seem to have been formed on the change of weather, you have probably altered them on the return of the heat, which has been very intense for several days past. As our stay for some days here is pretty certain, I shall be very happy to see you, if your domestic situation will permit, and will send Jack down, whenever you name the day, with the other horse. If you conclude on it, I would not have you mention it, but make a flying visit. You cannot doubt, my dear creature, but I shall not only be gratified with seeing you, but that I should also wish to have you with me as long as possible. But you know how many busy, slanderous, and envious eyes there are upon me, and that the old proverb is frequently verified in me, that some may better steal a horse than another look over the hedge. Our camp, though small, will give you some idea of an army, and our friends will make you welcome. General Wilkinson, Mr. Shields, and Mr. Ingersoll are all in camp to-day for the first time. Mrs. Hutchinson is here with the Doctor, but leaves him to-day.

The affair of the donation will require your attention, or slander will be busy on that score; the General is so decided that you have no choice left, so that the sooner you finish the business the better.* You will recollect,

* The Philadelphia contribution for the soldiers.

my dear creature, that it will be necessary for you to render a public account of your stewardship in this business, and though you will receive no thanks if you do it well, you will much blame, should it be otherwise. If it should happen that you do not come up, I have something to mention in writing on this point, but I had rather do it personally, so that I shall defer till I see what you conclude upon. I have received the shirts, &c., and a large bundle of English newspapers, but you do not tell me to whom I am obliged for this communication, or whether I am to return them. I should not be disappointed if the repeated and continued attacks of my enemies should sometimes meet with partial success. Human nature is not equal to the task of watching and repelling such incessant and implacable malice, but I am grown very callous on these points. I shall do my duty to the best of my ability, and if, after all, prejudices arising from envy, and real, though causeless malignity, prevail, I trust it can only be for a season; the mist will, sooner or later, clear away, but if it should not, I shall always have the satisfaction arising from an approving conscience, of having performed my duty to my country unbiassed by interest or ambition. It is not unlikely the General has caught the infection in part, for mischief is ever industrious, but he has a good heart, and I believe slow in listening to evil reports. He may have more professing and adulating friends, but he has not a more sincere one in America. He is not in all respects lucky as to those about him, but, being honest himself, he will not readily suspect the virtue of others. I have forwarded your letter to him. I wish you had mentioned the progress you had made in the business, and think you had best occasionally inform him how you go on. Kiss the children for me, and remember me affectionately to your mamma, as well as kindly to all friends. If you have not sent up my bed-curtains, I wish you would take the first opportunity to do it. I have too much pleasure in hearing from you not to desire you to write as frequently as you can, and am, my dear Hetty,

With unabated and inviolable affection, ever yours,

J. R.

PRESIDENT REED TO WASHINGTON.

Bloomsbury, Sept. 2d, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I beg leave to introduce to you Mr. Sheill, a gentleman whose enthusiasm in the American cause has led him to this country with a very considerable fortune. Being disappointed in his expectations of visiting the camp in a military capacity, he wished for an opportunity to pay his respects to your Excellency as a private gentleman.

Having dismissed the militia, collected the military stores, and transferred to the Quartermaster and Commissary all that remained of our forage and provisions, I shall set out immediately for Philadelphia, where your Excel-

lency may depend on every exertion in my power for the general benefit. I have the satisfaction of leaving this post better supplied than I found it, having drawn from Bucks County a very considerable proportion of forage and provisions, which we left here.

The deranged state of our public affairs, is indeed much to be lamented and apprehended; but I shall ever think it is to be ascribed to the errors of the year 1779, when the prospects of a winter's peace was evidently the basis of all the measures of Congress, and a few landed men, apprehensive of the taxes on their estates, poured out the public money with such profusion as to force the public bankruptcy, while they frustrated every measure for restoring public credit, either by a foreign loan, or a vigorous internal exertion.*

In calling out the militia of the State on this occasion, I have endeavoured to conform to your Excellency's orders, both in letter and spirit; they only regret that circumstances have not permitted them to give you farther proof of their affection and confidence; and on any future occasion, I trust they will be equally ready to obey your commands. For my own part, on every account, both public and private, I shall be happy to give every possible proof of the sincere attachment and respect with which I am, dear sir, &c.

The following letters, selected from many others, belong to this period.

THOMAS M'KEAN TO REED.

Philadelphia, August 29th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday morning I received your favour of Saturday by Mr. Sterett. Congress have, for a month past, been so distressed for want of money, that nothing but hope could have supported them under it, and that hope, to wit, remittances from the States eastward of Virginia, the others being reserved for the northern army, has now failed them; almost all the taxes are swallowed up in discharging debts contracted in the Quartermaster's and Commissary's departments, and what little surplus remained, we are told by all the States, is employed in equipping and marching the militia on the present expedition. Had the whole been paid into the treasury of the United States, it would have amounted but to a third part in value of the sum expected, the depreciation having trebled since the requisition made of the several States. You now see our situation. All the resource we have is the new money; if that should not freely circulate, or should it speedily depreciate, we shall be at our wit's end; however, recent steps have been

* This view of the legislation of the preceding year is, no doubt, a just one.

taken to give it vigour. I fear we shall, at last, be compelled to have recourse to the Tories for one of Charles the 1st's Benevolences. In short, we seem to be all very grave, and the General's late letters are much more so than usual; however, *si male nunc, et olim non erit*. Let us but make prisoners of the British Army at New York, and all will be soon well.

If a land office is opened soon, in this State, upon the footing you mention, viz. of revenue only, Pennsylvania will have money enough for another and yet another campaign: there must be no condition of settlement, as contended for by some, there should, rather, on the contrary, in my opinion, be a condition of forfeiture, in case of settlement, during the war, except by persons at present resident in the back counties, for obvious reasons.* To limit the quantity of land to be granted to any one person or family, is useless and impracticable.

The great object of a present sale must be the purchase money, and an increased fund for taxes the next year; and many foreigners may be induced to speculate in this way, and thereby become really interested in the event of the war, and in the prosperity of Pennsylvania in particular. I shall exert my best endeavours to have this work accomplished during the present session of Assembly, and that I may be enabled in future to attend to the affairs of this State only, I have quit Congress yesterday, except to make a few reports. I have served my apprenticeship, to wit, in *seven* Congresses. I am greatly relieved by your favourable account of the militia: those of the City must be much reformed since I had the command of a battalion of them. There were then some of the most rude, turbulent impudent, lazy, dirty fellows amongst them that I had ever beheld; but I suppose they have chiefly gone into the Army, or joined the enemy. At any rate I feared you would have had much trouble with them. Congress have passed an act giving the Presidents and Governors of States, the rank of major-generals in the line whilst they are with the army.†

There is an opinion entertained here, that the 2d division was seen near Bermudas, and I have some hopes that it may be so. The Alliance, Captain Landais, is arrived at Boston—there are no official accounts received, but you may rely upon it, she has brought, at least, the following articles,—10,000 suits of soldiers' clothes; 50 tons of powder; 20,000 stands of arms; many cannon, 18 and 12 pounders, besides other things we much wanted—report speaks of larger quantities of each of the enumerated articles.

The notice you have been pleased to take of Mr. Sterett is very obliging to me; you will find him a young man of unshaken integrity, indefatigable industry, and of abilities beyond his years, accompanied with a becoming modesty.

* No land office was opened during the war, till the next year, under an act passed 9th of April, 1781.—*Sergeant's Land Law of Pennsylvania*, p. 70.

† Resolution 25th August, 1780. *Journals*, p. 266.

I wish a continuance of your health, and a glorious campaign to yourself and country, and am, my dear Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS M'KEAN.*

WAYNE TO REED.

Camp Liberty Pole, September 3d, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I would have acknowledged the receipt of your obliging favour long since, but was deprived of that pleasure by a succession of marches and counter-marches, and the intervention of many disagreeable circumstances.

I am not altogether unacquainted with the ungenerous insinuations thrown out with respect to your conduct, but am made happy by the disappointment some of those people have experienced on your arrival, with so respectable a body of militia, on this side the *Rubicon*, which has produced a conviction that the virtuous citizens of Pennsylvania are not tied down to any local spot, but when occasion requires, will cheerfully move to any point, and in the eye of danger meet every vicissitude, under the conduct of a Governor in whose fortitude and abilities they can place the highest confidence.

Among the disagreeable circumstances I allude to, there are none more alarming than the discontent that pervades the whole of the field officers of this line on account of a brevet officer taking a permanent command in a full corps drawn from the troops of this State during the campaign. I have used every influence in my power to prevent their dissolution, in which I have been well seconded by General Irvine, as you'll find by the enclosed copies of letters written on the occasion.

I wish every general officer of this State had experienced equal anxiety, or rather that they had not been too instrumental in giving the first cause for that discontent and persevering in it at a period which affords but a melancholy aspect of a happy issue.

One of the enclosed copies to his Excellency is confidential; my own feelings prompt me to send it, and although I have had the strongest assurances from Head-Quarters, that no such insinuations *had* or ever

* I may here be permitted to express my regret that Mr. M'Kean's papers, especially those connected with the Revolution, are not accessible. They must be full of interest, as his public career was very varied, and distinguished. They are understood to be in the hands of his only surviving child, Mr. Thomas M'Kean of this City. The family of Chief Justice M'Kean exhibits a curious instance of the entanglement of American and European personal relations. The Duke de Soto Mayor, lately Spanish Minister at London, and now, if the confusion of rapid revolutions does not mislead me, Prime Minister of Spain, is a grandson of the Pennsylvania Chief Justice.

have any effect to the prejudice of my character, yet I have ground to believe that for a time they had some weight.

Could I but once fix the caitiff, this world would want space to hold us both. I think that I have drawn his picture, and doubt not but that the same principles which induced him to throw out this innuendo, has produced others on many occasions to different gentlemen, and though equally groundless, perhaps with more success.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to his Excellency General Washington, which I expected would have been transmitted to Congress; you have also a list of officers recommended for Commissions in the 7th Regiment, which I wish you to appoint, as they are much wanted.

I have the honour to be with much esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

N. B. Could we obtain hard cash, we would enlist almost the whole of the draughts during the war; we have got several upon trust.

The President returned to Philadelphia to meet the Assembly then about to convene, and resume his regular Executive duties, the extraordinary powers with which he and his colleagues were vested, being limited to the period of the legislative recess.

CHAPTER XII.

1780.

Mrs. Reed's Character—Her Correspondence during the War—Subscriptions of the Philadelphia Ladies for the relief of the Soldiers—Barbé Marbois' Letter to Mrs. Reed—Letters from Washington to Mrs. Reed—Lafayette's Subscription—Mrs. Reed's Illness and Death—Mrs. Bache—Wayne's Letter—Arnold's Treason—Letter from Major André to Mrs. Arnold—Charles Thomson's Letter to Mr. Jay—General Schuyler's Letter—André's Execution—Washington's Letter, 18th October, 1780.

It becomes necessary to interrupt the narrative of public events by an incident of painful domestic interest,—the death of Mrs. Reed. She died at Philadelphia, on the 18th of September, 1780, at the early age of thirty-four—a brief married life of ten years of war and confusion. It is not easy in the biography of a public man, to determine at what point domestic and familiar incidents cease to be interesting to the casual reader. Yet it would be very unjust in a Memoir meant to illustrate not merely the public career of one, however eminent, but the times in which he lived, the manners of society, and the thousand circumstances which affect individual character, to omit to notice the influence of a wife of high intelligence and accomplishment, the homeliness of whose revolutionary life was brightened by the most heroic of woman's virtues,—cheerful resignation, and uncomplaining submission to a hard lot. The women, the wives and mothers of the Revolution, had trials as well as the men. They bore them with modest heroism, and no one more so than Esther Reed.

Born to affluence, and reared under the eye of doting parents in the Mother Country, she had, when a girl, renounced all the ties that bound her to home, and followed the lover of her youth to these wild Colonies. Transatlantic adventure had far

greater terrors than now. Scarcely had she become used to her new and distant home, and while watching over the cradle of her first children, when a Civil War burst forth, severing all bonds between her native and adopted land, and tearing from her side the husband on whom, in a land of strangers, she alone depended. During five years of war, more than half the time, her family was broken up, and for a long period the young wife, with her little children, and an aged mother, was driven to seek a distant and precarious refuge. Yet no murmur of complaint ever escaped her lips, and the correspondence which has survived, whilst it illustrates the lover-like and romantic fondness of the husband, paints in still brighter tints the patient, cheerful endurance of the desolate wife. She had become an American soldier's wife. All her hopes and affections were wrapped up in him and the cause he had espoused. It is not easy to resist the temptation to refer to these letters in detail. They are eminently characteristic of the writer, and her times of trial. One or two, taken very much at random at different periods of her short married life, may at least be pardoned. There is in them no sentimentalism, but a healthy, cheerful tone, which is worthy of all praise. They show, too, the severity of the blow which, amid other trials, Mr. Reed met with in the death of one he loved so wisely and so well.

During the campaign of 1777, when the enemy were threatening Philadelphia either by a direct movement through the Jerseys, or the circuit which they ultimately adopted, Mr. Reed removed his family, a wife and three children, one an infant, and the oldest but six years of age, to Norriton, on the banks of the Schuylkill, about seventeen miles from the city. Here they remained till the actual approach of the British army, and hence the following letters were written to Mr. Reed.

"Norriton, June 21, 1777.

"I have received both my dear friend's letters, one by Mr. Henry, the other by some other conveyance. They have contributed in a great degree to raise my spirits, which, though low enough, are much better than when you parted with me. The reflection how much I pain you by my want of resolution,

and the double distress I occasion you when I ought to make your duty as light as possible, would tend to depress my spirits, did I not consider that the best and only amends is to endeavour to resume my former cheerfulness, and regain my usual spirits. I wish you to know, my dearest friend, that I have done this as much as possible, and beg you to free your mind from every care on this head. I must acknowledge the good news I gather from your letters and other accounts, have contributed much to it, and especially the pause there seems to be in approaching events, has given me time to recover myself. I am well in health, and better in spirits than when you left me.— — — — — I am much pleased with your determination as to your own line of conduct. Being Adjutant-General to the militia did not appear to me so clever. I wish I could find words sufficient to express how much I approve and admire your conduct, in which the tenderest regard for my happiness mingles with your disinterested exertions in your country's service, but I dare not say all I think. I know you smile already at what you call my partiality, but I know my dear friend will not wholly despise my praises.

“From what I gathered from General Armstrong, I imagine you will not go as far as Head-Quarters, and, also, from his and your account of public affairs, General Armstrong will not be wanted immediately. If so, I shall hope to see you in a few days.—We are all well, and join in the most earnest wishes for your return. Adieu.”

In February, 1778, writing to a female friend, (Mrs. Cox,*) she says:

“Expecting the pleasure of seeing Mr. Cox to-morrow, and wishing to enjoy as much of his company as I can, I take this evening to write to you. I hear he has not immediately left home, and therefore do not expect the pleasure of having a line from you. It is now very long since, but I know it is not easily accomplished, especially this season—this season, my dear friend, which used to be long and tedious, has to me been swift, and no sooner come but nearly gone. Not from the pleasures it has brought, but the fears of what is to come, and

* Mrs. Esther Cox, the wife of Colonel John Cox.

this on many accounts. Winter has now become the only season of peace and safety—returning spring, I fear, will bring a return of bloodshed and destruction to our country. That it must do so to this part of it seems unavoidable, and how much of the distress we may feel before we are able to move from it, I cannot say. I sometimes fear a great deal—it has already become too dangerous for Mr. Reed to be at home more than one day at a time, and that seldom and uncertain. Indeed, I am easiest when he is from home, as his being here brings danger with it. There are so many disaffected to the cause of their country that they lie in wait for those who are active, but I trust that the same kind presiding Power which has preserved him from the hands of his enemies, will still do it. His life has had several remarkable escapes, one of which he was not apprised of till a few days ago. Our acquaintance, T. S——, who you know is not apt to be over attentive to his family, having left his son Jonathan at Germantown about six weeks after the British troops had left it, wrote from Lancaster to Mr. Reed that he was very anxious on his account, and begged the favour of him to ride down there, and make some inquiry concerning him. His affections and relations to the child made him undertake it, but not without some little fear lest the enemy might happen to come out that way. However, he went, found J. S. in good health and spirits, wanting only a little hard money to purchase some necessaries, with which he supplied him, and returned safely. He has learned from some friends since, that the English Horse were there at the very time, loitering at the lower end of the town, and were at the house he left not five minutes after his departure — — — —.”

Again, soon after, in a far more desponding tone :—

“How can I better employ a leisure hour than by writing to my dear friend, to whom I know it always gives pleasure to hear from me. I wrote you a few weeks ago, since which I have not had a word from you; indeed, it adds not a little to the distresses of our days that we cannot mitigate the trouble of being separated from our friends, by a frequent and uninterrupted intercourse, but so it is, and we must submit. In my last I informed you of my situation, and how very low-spirited

I was in consequence of it. I wish I could tell you now, my dear friend, that I had regained my spirits, and bore my troubles with a becoming temper of mind, but I confess I find the greatest relief in chasing away all thoughts of what is before me. A thousand times I blame myself for my discontent, and yet I am not able wholly to overcome it. The fears of my approaching hour sometimes so depress me that my whole fortitude avails me nothing. You will not wonder so much at this when I tell you that I must be entirely in the hands of strangers, nor know I what assistance to procure. Distressing as my situation is, yet, when compared to some others, it is not to be mentioned. Our neighbourhood has lately afforded a scene of trouble, the reflection on which has, in some degree, silenced my murmurings, and made me thankful, instead of repining that everything is not exactly as I could wish. Our neighbour, B. Marshall, (I don't know whether you know him,) died last week of a fever, leaving a widow and three children. I have not yet visited this house of sorrow, but shall, as soon as the weather permits."

Later in the same year, (June, 1778,) having lost one of her children by the small-pox, Mrs. Reed writes to the same friend from Flemington, whither she had been removed some weeks before.

"I was intending to sit down and write to you the very time I received your kind, acceptable letter, truly welcome in the sympathizing words of my dear friend,—much do I stand in need of them; the loss I have sustained in my little circle I find sits very heavy upon me, and I find, by experience, how hard a task it is to be resigned. Therefore I must make yet larger demands on you, and beg you will continue to apply every argument which will tend to make me more perfectly acquiesce in the Divine pleasure, concerning me and mine. Surely my affliction had its aggravation, and I cannot help reflecting on my neglect of my dear lost child. Too thoughtful and attentive to my own situation, I did not take the necessary precaution to prevent that fatal disorder when it was in my power. Surely, my dear friend, I ought to take blame to

myself. I would not do it to aggravate my sorrow, but to learn a lesson of humility, and more caution and prudence in future. Would to God I could learn every lesson intended by the stroke. I think sometimes of my loss with composure, acknowledging the wisdom, right, even the kindness of the dispensation. Again I find it overcome me, and strike to the very bottom of my heart, and tell me the work is not yet finished, I've much yet to do; assist me, therefore, my dear friend, with your councils, and teach me to say, that God does *all* things well. But I will not trespass longer on your friendship, but turn my thoughts and yours to more pleasant scenes, for God has given, as well as taken away, and the loss of one should not make me unmindful of the blessings I have left, and those newly given. * * * *

"I am pretty well recovered, but my strength not so much recruited as usual in the same time. My dear little boy grows very fast; his name is Dennis De Berdt; he has as few complaints as any child of his age I ever saw; my fresh duty to him greatly tends to relieve my thoughts, and divert my too melancholy reflections.*

"I know it will give you pleasure, my dear friend, to hear that we have late letters from my brother. Governor Johnstone, one of the Commissioners, brought them. They bring the most agreeable tidings from him; he has married a very amiable woman with a large fortune, from whom also both mamma and myself had letters. She was so near lying in, that I suppose his son or daughter is just the age of my child. It seems to have renewed mamma's spirits exceedingly, and given me double pleasure on that account; they both give her a kind invitation to come to England, which she enjoys very much, though I believe without the thought of accepting. Yet I can easily judge how very pleasing it must be to her. * *

"How earnestly do I wish that I could see you; can I have no hope this summer that you will come? must you ever be so crowded with business? For myself it is not practicable; the length of the journey and my incumbrances forbid the thought, but I can't give up the expectation of seeing you here. Your-

* Mr. Reed's second son, born at Flemington, 12th May, 1778, died at sea on his voyage from Batavia, 6th February, 1805.

self and Miss Rachael, if not both at one time, yet separately, might favour me. I am very lonely here: this would induce you for my sake; that the part of the country is new and would vary the scene for Miss Rachael, might be another motive for her. I think I will be very angry if you disappoint me."

July 6th.—"Thus far had I written, as you will see by the date, three weeks ago, and have had no opportunity of sending it to you. I had some doubts whether to send it or write anew, but as my mind is not altered, and still stands in need of your kind and consoling advice, I venture this trespass on your friendship, as I find it the most softening and healing to my heart; but my grief shall not be now renewed, but stand far off while I congratulate you on the possession of our City once more. You have been to visit it, I hear; for my part, I do not expect to see it for some time yet; the cool weather must arrive before I can think of it. I hope when I hear from you, you will tell me who and what you saw, and how your Tory acquaintance behaved. Methinks one would be almost tempted to pity them. At a distance, I cannot feel much for them, but some particular scenes of separation, I dare say, must be very distressing. I must also congratulate you on our success at Monmouth, and that our State is free from our cruel enemy. You will, I am sure, my dear friend, congratulate me, when I tell you that my dear Mr. Reed was in the action, and had his horse again shot; this is the third time the same circumstance has happened, and himself unhurt; what

‘When all thy mercies, O my God,
My rising soul surveys;
Transported with the view, I'm lost
In wonder love and praise.’

The mercy of a kind Providence ought to make me ashamed of my unsubmissive, and unresigned temper to my late loss. I will try to act and think properly.

"As I find you are likely to come to Burlington, I have great hopes of seeing you here; do let me have a line from you; a line, did I say? do not put me off so, but write me a long letter. Do not endeavour to shorten my entertainment; I have very few here to hold conversation with."

These letters, inartificial as they are in style, convey some idea of the tone of the writer's mind. Nor is there, throughout the War, in her correspondence with her husband, any abatement of cheerful submissiveness, any expression of peevish discontent.

The close of Mrs. Reed's life was marked by some little public interest. In the spring of 1780, at the period of the greatest distress and suffering, the ladies of Philadelphia united for the purpose of collecting, by voluntary subscription, additional supplies in money and clothing for the army, then at the extreme point of destitution. It would seem to have begun in May, or perhaps earlier, and the following graceful letter from Barbé Marbois, then the French Secretary of Legation, shows that his good offices had been invoked in its aid. The courteous French Diplomatist seems to have been a confidential counsellor with the fair ones of Philadelphia.

TO MRS. REED.

MADAME,

Je ne suis pas assez heureux pour avoir eu moi-même l'idée de remettre entre vos mains les intérêts des soldats Americains. C'est le suffrage général qui, en designant la meilleure patriote, la plus zélée la plus active et la plus attachée aux intérêts de son pays, vous a nommée pour une fonction respectable independement de votre rang. Je desire infiniment, Ma 'ame, que votre santé se raffirmisse, et que les soins et les embarras dont vous voulez bien vous vous charger, ne portent aucune prejudice à votre retablissement.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,

Madame, votre très humble et

Philadelphie,
le 10 Juin, 1780.

Très obeissant serviteur,

DE MARBOIS.

Mrs. Reed, thus placed at the head of this voluntary association, though much of an invalid, entered upon her duties with great animation. On the 20th of June, Mr. Reed writing to Washington said :

"The ladies have caught the happy contagion, and in a few days Mrs. Reed will have the honour of writing to you on the subject. It is expected she will have a sum equal to £100,000, to be laid out according to your Excellency's direction in such

a way as may be thought most honourable and gratifying to the brave old soldiers who have borne so great a share of the burden of this war. I thought it best to mention it in this way to your Excellency for your consideration, as it may tend to forward the benevolent scheme of the donors with despatch. I must observe that the ladies have excepted such articles of necessity as clothing which the States are bound to provide. We have just heard that Mrs. Washington is on the road to this City, so that we shall have the benefit of her advice and assistance here, and if necessary refer afterwards to your Excellency.”*

Washington, in a letter which is published in Mr. Sparks' collection, acknowledged the great value of the proposed contributions, and directed the attention of the ladies to such articles of linen clothing as the soldiery stood most in need of.† The efforts of the Philadelphia women were eminently successful. No pains were spared. The City and Districts were apportioned among committees, and the result was that in Philadelphia City and County alone, the collections amounted to upwards of \$300,000 paper currency, or according to the existing depreciation, in specie about \$7500. Many of the contributions were made in gold, and all parties seem to have given liberally. It is a curious thing that the fund about this time subscribed by the merchants and others for the creation of a Bank, amounted to £315,000, or but about four hundred specie dollars more than was contributed for mere charity by the ladies of this City. Nor were their efforts confined to this neighbourhood; circulars were addressed to adjoining Counties and States. New Jersey and Maryland contributed generously. The following letters taken from my papers are inserted without further comment than to direct attention to the business-like intelligence, and practical good sense which distinguish Mrs. Reed's correspondence on a subject of which as a secluded female she could have had no previous knowledge. Washington writes as judiciously on the topic of “soldiers' shirts,” as on the plan of a campaign or the subsistence of an army.

* The rest of this letter will be found at a preceding page of this Volume.

† Vol. vii. p. 89.

ESTHER REED TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, July 4th, 1780.

Sir,

The subscription set on foot by the ladies of this City for the use of the soldiery, is so far completed as to induce me to transmit to your Excellency an account of the money I have received, and which, although it has answered our expectations, it does not equal our wishes, but I am persuaded will be received as a proof of our zeal for the great cause of America and our esteem and gratitude for those who so bravely defend it.

The amount of the subscription is 200,580 dollars, and £625 6s. 8d. in specie, which makes in the whole in paper money 300,634 dollars.

The ladies are anxious for the soldiers to receive the benefit of it, and wait your directions how it can best be disposed of. We expect some considerable additions from the country and have also wrote to the other States in hopes the ladies there will adopt similar plans, to render it more general and beneficial.

With the utmost pleasure I offer any farther attention and care in my power to complete the execution of the design, and shall be happy to accomplish it agreeable to the intention of the donors and your wishes on the subject.

The ladies of my family join me in their respectful compliments and sincerest prayer for your health, safety, and success.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

E. REED.

The original memoranda and accounts of these contributions, with the names of each committee and contributor, are in my possession.* Whilst the names of the female ancestors of many of our contemporaries are to be found in the list, several Philadelphia names seem to have become entirely extinct. The number of contributors was 1645, thus apportioned: the City 1099; Southwark 152; Northern Liberties 171; Germantown 152; and Bristol 13. All ranks of society seem to have united, from Phillis, the coloured woman, with her humble 7s. 6d., to the Marchioness de Lafayette, who contributed one hundred guineas in specie, and the Countess de Luzerne \$6000 in Con-

* Should it be in my power, some portions of these lists will be hereafter given in the Appendix.

tinental paper, \$150 in specie. Lafayette's gentlemanly letter to Mrs. Reed is worth preserving.

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO MRS. REED.

Head-Quarters, June the 25th, 1780.

MADAM,

In admiring the new resolution, in which the fair ones of Philadelphia have taken the lead, I am induced to feel for those American ladies who being out of the Continent cannot participate in this patriotic measure. I know of one who, heartily wishing for a personal acquaintance with the ladies of America, would feel particularly happy to be admitted among them on the present occasion. Without presuming to break in upon the rules of your respected association, may I most humbly present myself as her ambassador to the confederate ladies, and solicit in her name that Mrs. President be pleased to accept of her offering.

With the highest respect, I have the honour to be,

Madam, your most obedient servant,

LAFAYETTE.

WASHINGTON TO MRS. REED.

Head-Quarters, 20th July, 1780.

An idea has occurred to me, my dear madam, which if perfectly consistent with the views of the female patriots may perhaps extend the utility of their subscriptions. It is to deposit the amount in the Bank, and receive Bank notes in lieu of it to purchase the articles intended.

This, while serviceable to the Bank and advancing its operations, seems to have no inconvenience to the intentions of the ladies. By uniting the efforts of patriotism, they will reciprocally promote each other, and I should imagine the ladies will have no objection to a union with the gentlemen.

But I beg, madam, the suggestion I have taken the liberty to make, may not have the least attention paid to it, if the sentiments of all the fair associates do not perfectly coincide.

I have the honour to be,

With perfect respect and esteem, Madam,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

* In the last edition of the Life of Washington, Judge Marshall thus refers to these contributors:—

“This instance of patriotism on the part of our fair and amiable countrywomen is far from being single. Their conduct throughout the war was uniform. They

ESTHER REED TO WASHINGTON.

Banks of Schuylkill, July 31st, 1780.

SIR,

Ever since I received your Excellency's favour of the 20th of this month, I have been endeavouring to procure the linen for the use of the soldiers, and it was not till Saturday last I have been able to meet with any fit for the purpose, it being unavoidably delayed so long. I have been informed of some circumstances, which I beg leave to mention, and from which perhaps the necessity for shirts may have ceased; one is the supply of 2000 sent from this State to their line, and the other, that a considerable number is arrived in the French fleet, for the use of the army in general. Together with these, an idea prevails among the ladies, that the soldiers will not be so much gratified, by bestowing an article to which they are entitled from the public, as in some other method which will convey more fully the idea of a reward for past services, and an incitement to future duty. Those who are of this opinion propose the whole of the money to be changed into hard dollars, and giving each soldier two, to be entirely at his own disposal. This method I hint only, but would not, by any means wish to adopt it, or any other, without your full approbation. If it should meet with your concurrence, the State of Pennsylvania will take the linen I have purchased, and, as far as respects their own line, will make up any deficiency of shirts to them, which they suppose will not be many after the fresh supplies are received. If, after all, the necessity for shirts, which, though it may cease, as to the Pennsylvania Troops, may still continue to other parts of the army, the ladies will immediately make up the linen we have, which I think can soon be effected, and forward them to camp, and procure more as soon as possible, having kept in hand the hard money I have received, until I receive your reply.

shared, with cheerfulness and gaiety, the privations and sufferings to which the distress of the times exposed their country. In every stage of this severe trial, they displayed virtues which have not always been attributed to their sex, but which it is believed they will, on every occasion calculated to unfold them, be found to possess. With a ready acquiescence, with a firmness always cheerful, and a constancy never lamenting the sacrifices which were made, they not only yielded up all the elegancies, delicacies, and even conveniences to be furnished by wealth and commerce, relying on their farms, and on domestic industry, for every article of food and raiment, but consenting to share the produce of their own labour, they gave up without regret, a considerable portion of the covering, designed for their own families, to supply the wants of the distressed soldiers; and heroically suppressed the involuntary sigh, which the departure of their brothers, their sons, and their husbands for the camp, rended from their bosoms."—See also *Chastellux*, vol. i. p. 165.

The circumstances I have mentioned will, I hope, appear a sufficient motive for the ladies postponing the execution of the plan your Excellency proposed; I will not, therefore, take up your time in apologizing for the delay.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from your Excellency of the 20th, to which I would reply, that if the scheme to give the soldiers hard money, should be thought proper, of course, the putting the money I have, into the Bank, could not be done, and I find, on inquiry, that considerable advantage may be had, by laying out hard money either in linen or any other article. I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

With the highest esteem,

Your obedient, humble servant,

E. REED.

WASHINGTON TO MRS. REED.

Head-Quarters, Orange Town, August 10th, 1780.

MADAM,

I have the honour to thank you for your favour of the 31st ult. It was not my intention to divert the benevolent donation of the ladies from the channel they wished it to flow in. I gave my opinion in consequence of their request, but I shall be equally ready to subscribe to theirs, and will execute their commands in the manner most agreeable to themselves. At the same time I have my apprehensions (from the peculiar circumstances of our army) that a taste of hard money may be productive of much discontent, as we have none but depreciated paper for their pay.

A few provident soldiers will probably avail themselves of the advantages which may result from the generous bounty of two hard dollars in specie, but it is equally probable that it will be the means of bringing punishment on a number of others whose propensity to drinking, overcoming all other considerations, too frequently leads them into irregularities and disorder which must be corrected.

A shirt would render the condition of the soldiery much more comfortable than it is at present, and no prospect of public supplies (in any degree adequate to our wants) are yet opened to my view. The provision made or making for the troops of Pennsylvania, and the late importation from France, is small, in comparison of our aggregate call, and affords a melancholy prospect of continued sufferings.

I have the honour to be,

Madam, with the most perfect respect,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ESTHER REED TO WASHINGTON.

Banks of Schuylkill, August 10th, 1780.

SIR,

I had the honour of receiving yours of the 10th instant, to which I would reply, that the ladies had not the most distant wish that their donation should be bestowed in any manner, that did not perfectly accord with your opinion. I shall, therefore, without delay, put the plan in execution, and I am in hopes our expedition will prove, at once, our industry, our earnest desires to promote the comfort of the soldiery, and our cheerfulness to comply with your request.

I am, with the sincerest respect and esteem,

Your very humble servant,

E. REED.

On the 20th and 22d of August, Mrs. Reed wrote to her husband, then in command of the Pennsylvania troops at Trenton; letters indicating, that, with the sure instinct of female sagacity, she had detected something like formality in the tone of General Washington's correspondence. She seems too to have suspected a transient alienation of the General from the State authorities, but she writes cheerfully and intelligently.

ESTHER REED TO MR. REED.

Banks of Schuylkill, August 20th, 1780.

I this moment received yours, my dear friend, from Bloomsbury. I am very glad to hear our friends there are well. I dare say you were welcome as to yourselves, but perhaps not so with respect to such a number of militia. Mr. Cox's orchards and cornfields may suffer a little, and that I imagine, he cannot put up with very patiently, but perhaps you will be able to keep better discipline than I am aware of.

I have not heard of any letters from the General or any other quarter since you left home. I left directions that all those wrote on public service should be sent to the Council,—the others sent up here, but have not yet received any.

Shall I acknowledge, my dear friend, that I am not so anxious as I ought to be, perhaps, for the second division of the fleet? I judge in that case something of consequence would be attempted, fatal perhaps, in the event, and too much of my happiness is at stake not to make me dread it. If you cannot praise my patriotism, I am sure you can excuse me, at least, and place to the account of my love what is wanting to the cause of my country.

I congratulate you on this agreeable change of weather; it will make your own fatigues, as well as those of your soldiers, much less. This, as well as other circumstances, make one think of Philadelphia—though it is pleasant here, yet my family is not arranged for two houses. Rogers is our only man-servant. Our tenant is very obliging, or we could not possibly stay; he does everything I ask of him. Mr. Pettit [illegible] one of his horses that we are now confined here; but these difficulties will be principally removed in town. I shall therefore return there as soon as possible.

I shall be very anxious to hear from you what your views and expectations are, and how far you move. I have heard it hinted that you will yourself go on to Head-Quarters, if the troops should not be wanted there. Do write me as often as you can; nothing can so much reconcile me to your absence as frequently hearing from you. I must in very great haste tell you that we are all well, and that

I am, with unalterable affection,

Ever yours,

E. REED.

MRS. REED TO MR. REED.

Banks of Schuylkill, August 22d, 1780.

I thank you, my dear friend, for your attention to me in writing so frequently. Nothing can give greater pleasure, or tend so much to make absence tolerable. Yours, by Mr. Hunter, of the 19th, I received this morning. I am very glad to hear you have a little leisure; it will be a relief to your mind, and add also to your health, and I hope while you have time I shall still hear from you as often as you have opportunity. Though I have no reason to say a word to urge you to this, yet I cannot help expressing my wishes and hopes, and the pleasure I have in hearing from you. I think your situation, encamped on the banks of the Delaware, must be very agreeable. If I did not see and know the impropriety of it, I should almost wish to pay you a visit, as you know I have ever had a strong curiosity to see an army in the field; and though yours is small, yet it would gratify my curiosity as much, perhaps, as a large one. But I believe I shall not see it now; I must wait, at least, until the next time. The gentlemen of your family who have never been out before, I suppose think this a very agreeable specimen of the campaign. Dr. Hutchinson, I imagine, has joined you by this time,—to him, as well as to all the gentlemen with whom I am acquainted in your family, I beg my compliments, and my wish that they may find their whole tour of duty as pleasant as this part of it.

I received this morning a letter from the General, and he still continues his opinion that the money in my hands should be laid out in linen; he says no supplies he has at present or has a prospect of are any way adequate to the wants of the army; his letter is, I think, a little formal, as if he was

hurt by our asking his opinion a second time, and our not following his directions, after desiring to give them. The letter is very complaisant, and I shall now endeavour to get the shirts made as soon as possible. This is another circumstance to urge my return to town, as I can do little towards it here. The masons are about altering the chimney, under the directions of Mr. Matlack; I hope they will be done this week. When we move, I believe we must put Mr. Pettit's horse and our old one together; they will not be a very good match, but they must do

I am very anxious to know if you have heard from the General since the Committee left Camp. I can't help thinking you will find an alteration when they leave him to his opinion. I confess I felt very sensibly his doubting your zeal or exertions in the cause of your country; neither of these nor your friendship for him, I think, can at this day be called in question; but his ears have been open to insinuations, perhaps of designing men, or at least ignorant ones, who have themselves hearkened to those who represent this State able to do more than it really can, and thus answers two purposes,—it takes from the merit of government, and magnifies the exertions of private subscriptions. But I hope you will suspend any decided judgment on the General's conduct until you see him; he may probably explain it to your satisfaction; and remember, my friend, no one is entirely proof against the arts of misrepresentation, or can always act right when those in whom they place confidence make it a point to deceive us, or are themselves deceived.

I intend answering the General's letter to-morrow, which I shall enclose to you. You will have a better opportunity of forwarding it than I shall.

Our dear little children are pretty well. Dennis has been most terribly bit with mosquitoes, which he scratched till they are very sore and troublesome, and it makes him fretful. The chief reason to make me regret leaving this place is on the children's account, who seem to enjoy more pleasure here than in town. However, the weather is now so moderate I think it cannot endanger their health. Mamma sends her love and best wishes for your safety.

Adieu, my dear friend; think of me often, and remember with what sincere and tender affection

I am unalterably and truly yours,

E. REED.*

But one more letter was written, breathing the same spirit, and filled with details of the condition of her little family, and expressive anew of her desire to promote the exertions for the public which she had been making. "I can do," she repeats, "but little for the soldiers here, and am most anxious to get to town."

* It was in answer to this that Mr. Reed wrote his letter of 26th August—printed in the order of its date. ;

But the hand of death was upon her. The feeble health, in relation to which M. de Marbois had expressed so reasonable solicitude, further enfeebled by her recent confinement, was unequal to the burden of care which had devolved on her; and when the President returned from Camp in the early part of September, he found her, the wife of his early affections, the mother of his little children, laid upon a bed of fatal illness. Her death occurred, as I have stated, on the 18th of September, 1780. All classes of society seem to have united in tribute to her memory. The Council and Assembly adjourned, and attended her funeral in a body. How intensely her husband mourned her death, was apparent to those who watched, with deep solicitude, the now rapid progress of his own decline of health and spirits. It was the crowning blow in a life which had its full share of trials and anxieties.*

If the reader will pardon me for extending a little further this episode in a public man's history, I will add that, on the death of Mrs. Reed, the duty of completing the collections and contributions for the soldiery devolved on Mrs. Sarah Bache, the daughter of Dr. Franklin, and four other ladies as a sort of Executive Committee. On 26th of December, 1780, Mrs. Bache wrote to Washington.†

* On Mrs. Reed's tomb in the Presbyterian burying ground in Arch Street, her husband inscribed the following epitaph:—

In memory of ESTHER, the beloved wife of Joseph Reed,
President of this State, who departed this life
On the 18th of September, A. D. 1780, aged 34 years.
Reader! If the possession of those virtues of the heart
Which make life valuable, or those personal endowments which
Command esteem and love, may claim respectful and affectionate
Remembrance, venerate the ashes here entombed.
If to have the cup of temporal blessings dashed
In the period and station of life in which temporal blessings
May be best enjoyed, demands our sorrow, drop a tear, and
Think how slender is that thread on which the joys
And hopes of life depend.

† It was my wish to print this letter at length, but on application at the Department of State I learn that it has been abstracted from the files. It was, it is said, evidently bound up in the volume of the Washington Papers, as the blank leaf belonging to it, with the appropriate endorsement, is there. It is also referred to in the Index, purchased from Mr. Sparks. The following extract

"We packed up the shirts in three boxes, and delivered them to Colonel Miles, with a request that he would send them to Trenton immediately, lest the river should close, where they now wait your Excellency's orders. There are two thousand and five in number. They would have been at Camp long before this had not the general sickness prevented. We wish them to be worn with as much pleasure as they were made."

In the early part of 1781, the following letter seems to have terminated what was thus so worthily begun and completed. Though this letter has been printed before, I need make no apology for reinserting it here.*

from a letter of Mrs. Bache to her father has been kindly furnished to me by her family. "I have been busily employed in cutting out shirts and making them, and getting them made for our brave soldiers. There has been a collection amongst the good women as a reward to them, and the General chooses the money to be laid out in an additional shirt, and the ladies are unwilling to lessen the money by paying for the money, and are determined to do them among themselves. I hope you will approve of what we have done, as much of my time before I went out of town, as well as since my return, has been taken in forwarding the subscription."—*MS. Letter, without date.*

* To what straits the clothing department of the army was about this time reduced, is apparent from a letter of 25th October from Wayne to Reed.

Camp at Totowa, 25th Oct. '80.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the honour to address you the 17th instant, and took the liberty to ask for a quantity of thread and needles, to be forwarded by Mr. Little, but as he came away without them, I must beg leave to reiterate my request, and desire that they may be sent on with all possible despatch, as every day adds to our distress, and renders an immediate supply of these articles indispensably necessary.

I believe no army before this was ever put to such shifts, in order to have even the appearance of uniformity. When the charge of the Pennsylvania Division devolved on me after the removal of General St. Clair to the command of the left wing, I thought of an expedient of reducing the heterogeneous of new and old cocked hats, and pieces of hats, to infantry caps, in which we succeeded very well by making three decent caps out of one tolerable and two very ordinary hats, to which we added, as an embellishment, a white plume and a comb of flowing hair. We now shall try the experiment of making three short coats out of three old tattered long ones. I must acknowledge they would answer much better for the spring than fall, but without something done in this way, we shall be naked in the course of two or three weeks, nor will even this expedient answer longer than Christmas. For God's sake use every possible means to procure clothing for both officers and men by that time at furthest.

I must again request you to forward a quantity of hard cash for the purpose of

TO MRS. FRANCIS, MRS. HILLEGAS, MRS. CLARKSON, MRS.
BACHE, AND MRS. BLAIR.

New Windsor, 13th February, 1781.

LADIES,

The benevolent office which added lustre to the qualities that ornamented your deceased friend, could not have descended to more zealous or more deserving successors. The contributions of the association you represent have exceeded what could have been expected, and the spirit that animated the members of it entitles them to an equal place with any who have preceded them on the walk of female patriotism. It embellishes the American character with a new trait, by proving that the love of country is blended with those softer domestic virtues which have always been allowed to be more peculiarly your own.

You have not acquired admiration in your own country only ; it is paid to you abroad, and, you will learn with pleasure, by a part of your own sex whose female accomplishments have attained their highest perfection, and who, from the commencement, have been the patronesses of American liberty.

The army ought not to regret their sacrifices or sufferings, when they meet with so flattering a reward as the sympathy of your sex ; nor can they fear that their interests will be neglected, while espoused by advocates as powerful as they are amiable. I can only answer to the sentiments, which you do me the honour to express for me personally, that they would more than repay a life devoted to the service of the public, and to testimonies of gratitude to yourselves. Accept the assurances of the perfect respect and esteem with which I am, ladies,

Your most obedient, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

recruiting ; if we had it at this period, we could enlist a considerable number of the new levies, who are much preferable to any which Colonel Nicola sends us, nor should we be imposed on by deserters. I have already mentioned my ideas very fully on this subject the 17th ultimo. Captain Finney, the bearer of this, waits on your Excellency in behalf of the captains and subalterns of the line. I am confident that every reasonable requisition will be attended to, and I believe the gentleman will make no other. I could not deny the indulgence of permitting one of their body to attend the Honourable Council—it is not a time to tamper with their feelings. You will have the goodness to pardon the freedom, and believe me, with much esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Whilst Mr. Reed's mind was thus engrossed by domestic affliction in its severest form, the community was startled by the intelligence of Arnold's desertion to the enemy. The news reached Philadelphia on the 30th September, and produced intense excitement. His effigy was dragged through the streets by the populace, and burned. The Executive Authorities acted at once with vigour, proclaiming him a traitor to the State, and directing the seizure of his papers by the Sheriff.* Dark as had been the suspicions entertained and expressed by Mr. Reed and his friends of Arnold, deeply as they believed him to be steeped in guilt and official misconduct, treacherous correspondence with the enemy had never been imputed; and the lowest point on the scale of guilt to which his enemies believed him degraded, was tyranny and personal corruption. They did not dream he was a traitor too. It has since been proved that at the very time when he was, as a military commandant, oppressing the citizens of Philadelphia, he was in treacherous correspondence with agents of Sir Henry Clinton. There is a wonderful affinity in crime.

Among the papers seized by the Council were several now in my hands, of interest. One, a letter from Arnold to Miss Shippen, has been already referred to.† The others were the key to a cipher, with Arnold's superscription, which, at this day, it is impossible to interpret, and the following letter from Major André to Mrs. Arnold.

MAJOR ANDRE TO MRS. ARNOLD.

Head-Quarters, New York, the 16th Aug., 1779.

MADAME,

Major Giles is so good as to take charge of this letter, which is meant to solicit your remembrance, and to assure you that my respect for you, and the

* The minute of the Executive Council is as follows :

In Council, Philadelphia, Wednesday, Sept. 27, 1780.

The Hon. Thomas McKean, Chief Justice, attended in Council, and informed the Board that certain intelligence had been received of General Arnold's having joined the enemy at New York. Whereupon Resolved, that the Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia be directed to make diligent search for General Arnold's papers, and that he seize and bring the same before this Board for examination.

† Supra, p. 53.

fair circle in which I had the honour of becoming acquainted with you, remains unimpaired by distance or political broils. It would make me very happy to become useful to you here. You know the Mesquianza made me a complete milliner. Should you not have received supplies for your fullest equipment from that department, I shall be glad to enter into the whole detail of cap-wire, needles, gauze, &c., and, to the best of my abilities, render you in these trifles services from which I hope you would infer a zeal to be further employed.

I beg you would present my best respects to your sisters, to the Miss Chews, and to Mrs. Shippen and Mrs. Chew.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest regard,

Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ANDRE.

The autograph of this letter is not without its interest in relation to a vexed question in our history, the extent of Mrs. Arnold's knowledge of her husband's designs. Various opinions have been expressed on this point. Colonel Hamilton, in a well-known letter written at the time, has given it as his conviction, founded on observation of Mrs. Arnold's excessive distress on her husband's desertion, that she was innocent. "Everything," said he in a letter to Colonel Laurens, "everything affecting in female tears, or in the misfortunes of beauty; everything pathetic in the wounded tenderness of a wife, or in the apprehensive fondness of a mother, and, till I have reason to change the opinion, I will add, everything amiable in suffering innocence conspired to make her an object of sympathy to all who were present."* Hamilton's judgment on a matter where sympathy with afflicted beauty had influence, is not always to be relied on, but in this instance it was probably correct, and this for very obvious considerations. Mrs. Arnold was a gay and volatile woman, whom so deliberate a villain as Arnold would not be apt to trust. She was not an unscrupulous heroine to prompt a husband to gigantic crime. Her very loyalism, her constant and familiar association with those who were disaffected to the American cause, her levity of character,

* Hawk's Edition of Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 465. In Davis's Life of Aaron Burr, vol. i. p. 219, a different theory is suggested, but on very inadequate evidence.

and the inconsiderate exhilaration which such a triumph as the seduction of a patriot back to the royal cause would excite, were circumstances in the judgment of so sagacious a man as Arnold to disqualify her from being his confidante. There are secrets too perilous to be trusted to a wife. It is more than probable that she knew nothing about it. This is the judgment of Mr. Sparks, and most of those who have examined this subject with attention and without prejudice. But it is equally reasonable to suppose that Mrs. Arnold was an unconscious instrument in the hands of artful men, and the letter which was thus detected from André rather corroborates this idea. At the time, the letter, with its allusions to millinery, cap-wire, needles, gauze, was regarded as a pretence, hiding deeper and more dangerous meaning.

In a very interesting letter from Charles Thomson to Mr. Jay, then at Madrid, the draft of which is before me, is the following passage relating to this very matter :

“ In a controversy and revolution such as this, where former friendships and intimacies subsisted between the contending parties, and where men of upright intentions took different sides, and men of all characters were engaged in the contest, it would not have been strange or uncommon, if conspiracies had been formed before this. But to the honour of the American army, Arnold is the first, and I believe the only American officer who has during the War entered into a conspiracy with the enemy to betray his country. You know the character of the man. He was brave but avaricious, fond of parade, and not very scrupulous about the means of acquiring money to defray the expenses of it. He had married a young woman who had been distinguished at General Howe’s Meschianza. The expensive manner in which Arnold lived in Philadelphia reduced his finances, and the accounts he exhibited against the public underwent scrutiny at the Board of Treasury, much to the disadvantage of his honour and honesty. This, joined to his disappointment in the case of the *Active*, and the result of the Court Martial instituted on the complaint of the Council of Pennsylvania, drove him to desperate measures, and rendered him a fit object for Clinton’s views. By letters found among

his private papers, it appears that Major André, one of Sir Henry Clinton's Aids, had commenced a correspondence with Mrs. Arnold, in 1779, *under pretence* of supplying her with millinery. Whether it was continued until it was ripened into the plot of betraying West Point into the hands of the enemy, I will not undertake to say."*

The same view of this correspondence was taken by the newspapers and contemporary writers generally, and violent suspicion rested on Mrs. Arnold, who having returned from West Point to her father's house, was peremptorily ordered by the Executive Council to leave the State.† Yet the more reasonable theory seems to be that the letter in question, so far as she is affected by it, proves no guilty knowledge. In March or April, 1779, Arnold had begun his correspondence under a feigned name, with New York. He used the name of "Gustavus." The answers, which were numerous and significant, were signed "John Anderson," but as is now known were written by André. May not the letter to Mrs. Arnold have been designed to let Arnold know who his New York correspondent was, and that from his rank and confidential relation to the British Commander-in-chief he was entitled to regard?

There is something in the tone and contents of the letter which gives colour to this idea. André had parted with the "fair circle" in Philadelphia in June of the preceding year, and his gallantry seems to have slumbered long and soundly, for it is not till August (1779), that he writes to offer his services and solicit their remembrance. It is not surprising that so odd a letter should have given rise even to unjust suspicion at the

* MS. Letter, 12th October, 1780.

† In Council, Philadelphia, Friday, October 27, 1780.

The Council, taking into consideration the ease of Mrs. Margaret Arnold (the wife of Benedict Arnold, an attainted traitor with the enemy at New York), whose residence in this City has become dangerous to the public safety; and this Board being desirous as much as possible to prevent any correspondence and intercourse being carried on with persons of disaffected character in this State and the enemy at New York, and especially with the said Benedict Arnold: Therefore, Resolved, that the said Margaret Arnold depart this State within fourteen days from the date hereof, and that she do not return again during the continuance of the present war.

time of its discovery, nor does it at all discredit the less offensive theory now suggested. It is right that I should add that this suggestion is very diffidently made, as not having access to the original correspondence between "Gustavus" and "John Anderson," I am unable to make a comparison of autographs.

Mr. Reed was absent from the City when Arnold's treachery was disclosed. It may easily be imagined with what mingled feelings he learned this dismal verification of all his forebodings. It is one of his highest distinctions that he first detected, and in the face of vehement and imposing opposition exposed the traitor. How influential Arnold's wiles had been, and how completely he controlled better and purer men, using them for his own base purposes, was further made manifest by the exposure of his private correspondence. Among the papers seized by the Executive Council was the following, written at the time when Arnold was maturing his plans of treason, and soliciting the command at West Point.

GENERAL SCHUYLER TO ARNOLD.*

Morristown, June 2, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

The letter which I did myself the pleasure to write you on the 11th of May, you had not received when yours of the 25th was written. In that I advised you that I had conversed with the General on the subject which passed between us before I left Philadelphia; that he appeared undecided on the occasion, I believe because no arrangement was made, for he expressed himself with regard to you in terms such as the friends who love you could wish. When I received yours of the 25th May, I read it to him; he was much engaged; next day he requested to know the contents again. I put it into his hands; he expressed a desire to do whatever was agreeable to you, dwelt on your abilities, your merits, your sufferings, and on the well-

* The letter from Arnold to which this is a reply, will be found in Sparks' Washington, vol. vii. p. 95.

MS. *Colonel Moylan to Mr. Reed*: "At Camp, October 1st, 1780. Major André is to be executed this evening at 5 o'clock. What a pity it is not Arnold that is to suffer in his room. His conduct through the examination has been open, candid, manly, and has gained him the esteem of every one. He has been led into the scrape against his judgment, and fortunately for America, by the bad conduct of Arnold in sending him back, was caught."

earned claims you have on your country, and intimated that as soon as his arrangements for the campaign should take place, that he would properly consider you. I believe you will have an alternative proposed either to take charge of an important post, with an honourable command, or your station in the field. Your reputation, my dear sir, so established, your honourable scars put it decidedly in your power to take either. A State which has full confidence in you will wish to see its banner entrusted to you. If the command at West Point is offered, it will be honourable,—if a division in the field, you must judge whether you can support the fatigues, circumstanced as you are. Mrs. Schuyler proposes a jaunt to Philadelphia; if she goes I shall accompany her, and have the pleasure of seeing you. She joins me in every friendly wish; please to make my respects to your lady and her amiable sisters.

Believe me, with the most affectionate regard and esteem,

Yours, most sincerely, &c., &c.

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

This was certainly strong language of praise addressed to a man then under sentence for public delinquency. Well might Mr. Reed be amazed to learn that Washington, who had ordered Arnold's Court Martial, and approved its judgment, in confidential intercourse dwelt upon his abilities, his merits, and his sufferings, and "spoke of him in terms such as those who loved him could wish." He at once wrote to Washington on the subject, and received the following reply.

WASHINGTON TO REED.

Head-Quarters, Passaic Falls, October 18th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

By your favour of the 3d from Bethlehem, I perceive my letter of the 1st had not got to your hands; but I have the pleasure to find that the business you were upon anticipated the purpose of it, and was in a fair way to answer the end.

Arnold's conduct is so villanously perfidious that there are no terms that can describe the baseness of his heart. That overruling Providence which has so often and so remarkably interposed in our favour, never manifested itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of his horrid intention to surrender the post and garrison of West Point into the hands of the enemy. I confine my remarks to this single act of perfidy, for I am far from thinking he intended to hazard a defeat of this important object by combining another with it, although there were circumstances which led to a contrary

belief. The confidence and folly which have marked the subsequent conduct of this man are of a piece with his villany, and all three are perfect in their kind.

The interest you take in my supposed escape, and the manner in which you speak of it, claim my thanks as much as if he really had intended to involve my fate with that of the garrison, and I consider it as a fresh instance of your affectionate regard for me.

As I do not recollect ever to have held any very particular conversation with General Schuyler respecting Arnold, I should be glad to obtain a copy of the letter in which you say "my opinion and confidence in him (Arnold) is conveyed in terms of affection and approbation."

Some time before or after Arnold's return from Connecticut, (the conversation made so little impression on me that I know not which,) General Schuyler informed me he had received a letter from Arnold, intimating his intention of joining the army, and rendering such services as his leg would permit,—adding that he was incapable of active service, but could discharge the duties of a stationary command without much inconvenience or uneasiness to his leg. I answered that, as we had a prospect of an active and vigorous campaign, I should be glad of General Arnold's aid and assistance, but saw little prospect of his obtaining such a command as appeared to be the object of his wishes, because it was my intention to draw my whole force into the field when we were in circumstances to commence our operations against New York, leaving even West Point to the care of invalids and a small garrison of militia; but if, after this previous declaration, the command of that post, for the reasons he assigned, would be more convenient and agreeable to him than a command in the field, I should readily indulge him: having had it hinted to me by a very respectable character, a member of Congress, (not General Schuyler,) that a measure of this kind would not be unacceptable to the State most immediately interested in the welfare and safety of the post.

This, to the best of my knowledge and recollection, is every syllable that ever passed between General Schuyler and me respecting Arnold or any of his concerns. The manner and the matter appeared perfectly uninteresting to both of us at the time. He seemed to have no other view in communicating the thing than because he was requested to do it, and my answer dictated by circumstances you already have—but how it was communicated the letter will show.

That this gentleman (General Schuyler) possesses a share of my regard and confidence, I shall readily acknowledge. A pretty long acquaintance with him, an opinion of his abilities, his intimate knowledge of our circumstances, his candour, as far as I have had opportunities of forming a judgment of it, added to personal civilities and proofs of a warm friendship, which I never had a doubt of, would leave me without excuse, were I to withhold these from him.

What ascendancy he may have over the army, is more than I can tell;

but I should not be surprised if he stands in a favourable point of view with respect to their esteem. The means he took to acquire a true knowledge of their distresses while he was with it, the representations he made to procure relief, and his evident endeavours to promote the objects for which he was appointed, seem to have made this a natural consequence.

That part of your letter which respects the exchange of prisoners will be made the subject of a particular letter, and shall accompany this.

With great respect and regard,

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate,

Humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER XIII.

1780—81.

Elections in fall of 1780—Mr. Reed chosen President the third time—Message of Council—Commission on Revenue System—Reed, Bayard, and Rittenhouse—Their Report—Letter to Mr. Bryan—Wayne's Letter—Mr. Searle's Mission to Europe—Financial Affairs—Tender Laws—Letter to Mr. Henry—Protest in Assembly—Mr. Reed's Letter to James Searle—Dissolution of the Paper Money—Message to the Assembly—Repeal of Tender Laws—President Reed's Letters to Armstrong and Washington—Vindication of Pennsylvania—French Travellers in America—Chastellux and the Abbé Robin—Review of the French Army—Chastellux's Visit to Mr. Reed—Philosophical Society.

THE elections in the fall of 1780 terminated adversely to the Constitutionals, and a majority of the opposite party was returned to the Assembly. The exertions of the Executive, and the stern necessity it was called from time to time to enforce, no doubt led to this result. Mr. Reed was, however, for the third time elected President without opposition, and in November sent his Message to the Legislature.

"We esteem ourselves happy," he said, "in meeting the renewed choice of the people in legislation, at a period so peculiarly critical and interesting. If wisdom, firmness, and mutual confidence, were ever necessary in this great contest, they are so at this time, when our enemies, forsaking, in no small degree, the efforts of open and manly force, build their hopes of success on the arts of disaffection and corruption, and presume that, wearied with the contest, or engrossed with selfish and gainful views, we shall yet relinquish the glorious object of so many toils, and so much blood. It is not only our duty but our immediate interest, to convince them that their hopes are equally fallacious, whether founded on arms or seduction, on our deficiencies in civil or military virtue. And if ever any people had reason to presume their cause was approved of heaven, we

surely may, when we see not only signal interpositions of Providence, but behold the labours of the husbandman, and cares of the merchant, crowned with growing plenty, and increasing success. It must be truly animating to see that our enemies draw not a ray of comfort from our inability or poverty, but our supposed debasement of spirit and exhausted patriotism. If, therefore, as we are bound together in one common interest, we are equally united in adopting and enforcing a permanent effective system of defence, we may soon hope that despair will succeed disappointment, and even British pride do homage to American virtue."

He also added, "We would particularly lay before you a measure framed by the former House of Assembly, for the present relief of their constituents, and executed by this Board, under their instructions, on which an eventual engagement is founded, involving in it the honour and good faith of the State, as well as the ease of the people, under the burden of the war. The minutes of the Council, which will be laid before you, will give you such full acquaintance with the transaction, the success of which we may every day expect to hear, that we hope you will make the necessary provision for an honourable compliance with the stipulations, which may be entered into in behalf of the State."

This refers to a financial measure to which great importance was attached, and which, if it did not entirely fail, was, in great measure, embarrassed by the fierce political animosities of the times—the attempt of the State of Pennsylvania to negotiate a loan in Europe. The last Legislature had endeavoured to invigorate the finances of the State. The currency was fast reaching its lowest point of depression, and it was manifest that something beside the framing of new modes of taxation was required to bring things right. A funded loan was the natural remedy. A commission was appointed, composed of Mr. Reed, Mr. John Bayard, and Dr. Rittenhouse* in

* JOHN BAYARD, during the predominance of the Constitutional party in Pennsylvania, was Speaker of the General Assembly, and, in 1785, a member of the Continental Congress. He died in the year 1807. He was the father of the late Andrew Bayard of Philadelphia, and uncle of James A. Bayard, of Delaware, one of the Negotiators of the Treaty of Ghent.

Of DAVID RITTENHOUSE, the other Commissioner named in the text, it is unne-

September, 1780, whose duty it was to visit the several Counties, and ascertain what were the causes of the failure of revenue, and report such further legislation as was required to remedy the defects.* Their report, which is very voluminous,

cessary to say anything here. His distinguished career is well known. He was for twelve years, many of them years of war, Treasurer of Pennsylvania.

* The extent and variety of their duties were remarkable.

Resolved, unanimously, That three Commissioners be appointed, whose duty it shall be to inquire into the general police of each county, and more especially to inform themselves on the following points :

First. What deficiencies there are in the payment of the public taxes in each county ; what townships are delinquent, and the several causes of such delinquency.

Secondly. To inquire into the product of the excise and other public dues ; whether due attention is paid to the collection by the magistrates, and excise officers ; due returns made of all public houses, and the penalties of laws inflicted upon such as keep taverns or public houses, not complying with the requisitions of law in this respect.

Thirdly. Whether forfeitures of recognizances, fines and penalties imposed on delinquents in courts of justice, are duly collected, and paid to the proper officers, in case of the public burdens.

Fourthly. To inquire into the progress of the several Commissioners appointed to procure specific supplies in this State for the Federal army ; what are their difficulties, and the obstructions they meet with in answering the public expectations and demands.

Fifthly. To inquire into the nature and amount of the debts due to the people of this State, on certificates from the Quartermaster, and Commissary-General's departments ; in order that some plan may be devised by the next Assembly for redressing and reforming any abuses and irregularities with respect to those certificates ; and that the payment of taxes may be reduced as soon as possible, to the simple and regular mode of payment of money.

Sixthly. To inquire, pursuant to sundry resolutions made by the Honourable Congress, into the number of posts and hospitals established under the quartermaster generals', commissaries, and medical departments in this State, the rations drawn, and persons actually employed therein, so as to retrench, as far as can conveniently be done, any unnecessary expenses of the Continent in general, or this State in particular.

Seventhly. To hear all reasonable complaints against public officers for any abuse or mismanagement of office in the administration of justice, collection of taxes, and all other grievances of a public nature, if any subsist, which from the extent of the State, distance from the capital, or other causes, the good people of the State may not have opportunity to lay before those whose duty it is to inquire into, and redress them.

Eighthly. To inquire into the state of the militia, the numbers actually bearing arms, their equipments and condition for actual service, and such other parti-

and which was prepared by Mr. Reed, was laid before the Legislature, in March, 1781. It is a curious and interesting document, and throws much light on the perplexed questions of currency and finance which the Statesmen of the Revolution had to determine. The embarrassments of the times are apparent, from the following hurried letter written during the journey of the Commissioners.

PRESIDENT REED TO GEORGE BRYAN.

Bethlehem, October 5th, 1780.

I received your obliging favour of the 2d inst., and am much obliged to you for the intelligence it contains. At this distance from the great scene, and no other information than a stale newspaper, your letters give us much pleasure.

The newspapers will have informed you of the objects of our present journey, and indeed we find much to rectify. What with the ignorance of the laws, the unskilfulness and sloth in the execution, the inattention of the magistrates and other public officers, our affairs are getting into great confusion. There is a great deficiency of taxes in the two Counties we have examined, not arising from a defect of laws either in number or goodness, but real neglect in the execution of Commissioners, Collectors, &c. The incidental duties arising from excise, fines, license, moneys, &c., would, in a few years, have been lost to the public; not one-third of the taverns take out any license, in short we seem to be all going wrong, and our manners as much depreciated as our money. The abuses of the Quartermaster's

colars as may be necessary to render that establishment most useful and efficacious for the public defence.

Resolved. That to this end the said Commissioners be authorized to call upon the Commissioners of the taxes, the county treasurer, and all other persons concerned in the collection of public taxes, upon all justices of the peace, lieutenants of counties, and such other persons in office, as they shall think necessary, in order to obtaining full information of the state of this Commonwealth; and that their reasonable and necessary expenses on this service be defrayed.

Resolved. That the said Commissioners do make report on these points severally, to the next Assembly, in order to apply suitable remedies, if necessary, to any grievances, irregularities, or abuses, which may subsist, and that further, or other measures may be taken for the general good and happiness of this State.

The House then proceeded to appoint three Commissioners for the purposes above mentioned, when His Excellency, Joseph Reed, Esq., President of the State, the Honourable John Bayard, Esq., Speaker of the General Assembly, and David Rittenhouse, Esq., Treasurer of the State, were unanimously appointed.—*Journals of Assembly*, p. 576.

department are great and many. A practice has obtained here to sell Continental property by appraisement, and it has proved a very convenient mode to gratify a friend with a good team or horse, at one-third the value. Here is a Commissary, on pay, rations, and forage, with a waiter, to supply six Hessians, who work about the town, but I should rather say was, as I have sent to Easton to-day to cashier about eight or ten of them. A mulatto in the County has acquired a very handsome fortune under Mr. Hooper, as Deputy Commissary, some say £10,000 specie. Now the influence is removed, the people speak out, and pretty loudly too, but I fear it is almost too late. There have been at one time twelve Deputy Quartermasters in this County only, on pay, rations, and with clerks, &c., &c., &c. Had a suitable inspection taken place twelve months ago, I am sure we should have saved many thousands, if not millions. There appears no opposition to the Government either in Bucks or this County, but the people seem much puzzled to find suitable persons to send to Council and Assembly. I hope they will find good Whigs at least.

I have wrote to Mr. Moore, hoping the Council will take this opportunity to send off some of these families and characters which have given us so much trouble. If it agrees with your sentiments, I wish you would second me, and let us rid ourselves of them while opinions are warm and decided.

But a more thorough remedy than mere imposition of taxes was needed to set things right. A foreign loan or subsidy was necessary.* Every considerate mind looked for this as the only sure resource. The following letter, eminently characteristic of its true-hearted, right-minded writer, was received from Camp about this time.

WAYNE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Camp, September 17th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

At the commencement of this campaign, we had the most flattering expectations from the promised succours by his Most Christian Majesty, as well as from the exertions of these States, but the intervention of a superior fleet to that of our allies in these seas, the blockade of Brest,—in which port the second division, intended for America, are shut up,—and the tedious delay, and at length total prevention of operation in the West Indies, together with the recent military check we have experienced in South Carolina, and the difficulty of promised aid and supplies in the United States, have materially altered the complexion of affairs.

* In Hawk's edition of Hamilton's works, vol. i. p. 388, will be found an admirable letter to this effect, written in 1780, by Hamilton to Robert Morris.

In this situation I have been called upon to give my opinion in writing of what I think the most advisable mode of conduct or feasible point of operation.

The actual arrival of Sir George Rodney with ten sail of the line at Sandy Hook, will, when joined by Admiral Arbutnot, be equal to twenty or twenty-four sail. The Count de Guichen is said to be off the coast with eighteen, and the Count De Ternay with seven or eight at Rhode Island, in all twenty-five or twenty-six sail, so that the force will be nearly upon an equality, hence we have little ground to expect anything capital taking place by water.

Could any period be fixed for the arrival of the second division from Brest, so as to place our allies in the sovereignty of these seas, I should not be at a loss on the occasion; but as this is only problematical, or at most eventual, I must acknowledge that I see nothing but a choice of difficulties left to determine upon. Among others, that of experiencing every extreme of distress at this stage of the campaign; for want of provisions is of the most alarming nature, and would, without any other, be sufficient to defeat the best plan in the power of a General to design.

When I look forward to a period fast approaching, I discover the most gloomy and distressing prospects presenting themselves; and when I consider that the mass of people who now compose this army will dissolve by the 1st of January, except a little corps enlisted for the war, badly paid, and worse appointed and fed, I really dread the consequence; for these discouraging facts may have a fatal influence on their minds, when opposed to a well-appointed, puissant, and desolating army. Should Sir Henry Clinton profit by former errors, and commence the General, should he wait that season, and then pour like a deluge upon a naked country and once more possess your Capital, I have but too much ground to dread, that by an introduction of Civil Government, he would find many, very many adherents, and perhaps great numbers of converts we at present least suspect.

I know that you are not to learn that the fidelity of some of the Southern States is much shaken, and that a great proportion of the landed interest in your State would have very little objection to submit to the former government; and I can, from my own knowledge, assure you that the farmers in this State appear to wish for peace on any terms, owing to the mode in which we have been necessitated to ration our troops, and forage our horse; a mode truly distressing to them, and affords but a very partial relief to us, yet little as it is, it has hitherto prevented a dissolution of this army.

I know that a true picture of our situation must be very distressing to the benevolent mind, and hurtful to the eye of a gentleman, who from principle, as well as his exalted station, must be interested—deeply interested in the fate of America. Yet it is a duty which, as a citizen and a soldier, I owe to you, to myself, and to my country, to show it in its true colours, and also to assure you that I am not influenced by any apprehension for my own liberty or safety. I have fully and deliberately considered every possible vicissitude

of fortune, and know that it is not in the power of man to subjugate a mind determined to be free. Whilst I am master of my own sword, I am governor of my own fate. I therefore only fear (but greatly fear) for *this* of my country, and would wish to warn her of her danger, and point out the only mode that can possibly save her from impending ruin.

We have it yet in our power to remedy or correct former mistakes, and to rise superior to every difficulty or danger. This can only be done by a foreign loan, and by a completion of our regiments. The Eastern States seem fully convinced of their error, and from the best intelligence will exert every power to complete their quota of troops for the War. Pennsylvania, in this, will have greatly the advantage; the levies now in camp are enlisting upon trust; whilst this spirit continues, I wish we could be furnished with some hard cash. This is the time to take them; if we wait much longer, the termination of their service will be so near that nothing will induce them to remain. Add to this, that those men are now on the spot—that there is no danger of being imposed on by deserters—that every man who may enlist, we are sure of, and that they have acquired some discipline, and an adroitness in exercise and manœuvring, by the close attention and indefatigable industry of our officers, which they still continue to improve with unwearied zeal.

I would beg leave further to suggest whether good policy don't point out the expediency of making a true representation of our situation to the Court of France, and to tell her we are no longer able to continue this unequal contest without the aid of hard money, which, if they will furnish us with, we will engage to secure our *Independence*, and repay them, when able, otherwise.

Adieu, my dear sir, and believe me, in every vicissitude of fortune,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

On this subject, the Council had, however, acted by sending Mr. James Searle, formerly a Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, to Paris and Amsterdam, to endeavour to procure a loan, and supplies of clothing. He spent the winter of 1780 and 1781 in Europe, but, from the fragments of his correspondence which have survived, it seems his efforts were wholly unavailing.* Had he been successful, it is fair to suppose that the financial catastrophe which occurred, and which, in spite of his exertions to avert it, darkened and perplexed the last years of Mr. Reed's administration, might have been pre-

* Appendix No. II.

vented. As it was, it was a ghastly scene of frustrated expedients and wretched economical mismanagement, aggravated by the most intense party animosity. In vain were the remonstrances and solicitations of the Executive, in vain the reasoning of all unprejudiced men against the folly and iniquity of compulsory laws to force credit on worthless and inconvertible paper.

It may not be inopportune here to trace briefly the course of financial legislation from this time to the close of Mr. Reed's administration, illustrating it hereafter by the correspondence presently to be resumed. A writer of the times thus describes it:

"It must be known to those who are conversant in the past transactions of Pennsylvania, that bills of credit, from their first introduction in 1722, were always declared a legal tender, as money, for all debts and demands till the year 1780, when £100,000 of paper money, funded on land, were emitted, for the first time, without this sanction. It is true the tender formerly went no further than to deprive the creditor of interest and costs; he might, notwithstanding, recover the principal afterwards.

"On the commencement of hostilities with Britain in the present glorious contest, the practices of the enemy *without*, and the artifices of the disaffected *within*, were combined to destroy our money, the principal sinew of our force, and to render us incapable of resisting the powerful armies employed to subjugate us; in this exigency nothing carried us through our difficulties but the determined spirit, the enthusiasm of the Whigs. Resolved to risk their all in the cause in which they had embarked, in every part of the United States they called for tender laws with heightened penalties on the refuser of paper money. Congress recommended such laws, and they were established with the approbation of every man who wished to be considered as devoted to independence and liberty; and whatever may now be said against the enforced tender of this sort of money, yet to these tender laws, under God, must the political salvation of this country in the years 1776, 1777, and 1778, be ascribed.

"It is now pretty evident that these laws were suffered to

continue too long, and that before the depreciation of the Continental bills of credit was risen to twenty-five or thirty for one, the tender should have been repealed. It is, however, scarcely fair to decide upon the public conduct after the event, and we should consider that, in 1779, there was no other medium to recur to, and hardly any specie in the country. It was not until 1781, that the Spanish silver, in any quantity, was imported. But if the repeal of these acts was so proper in 1779, why was it not attempted? The Assembly was, at that time, composed of different parties: yet we find not a word on their journals tending to this point. The fact is, the idea of discontinuing the tender of Continental money as specie, first rose in the Honourable Congress, and seems to be a part of the famous Resolves of the 18th of March, 1780.

“On March 20th, 1780, a Resolve of Congress is entered on the minutes of the Assembly, dated that day, recommending ‘the revisal of the tender laws in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to justice in the present state of the paper money.’ Upon this the House, on the 21st, in the forenoon, resolved, by a majority, attained by the vote of the Speaker, that a clause be brought in, to be added to the money bill, then depending, ‘for suspending the operation of the tender laws, as far as they relate to making Continental currency a tender equal to gold and silver, for debts and contracts.’ It is true, that on the 23d, two days after, this clause was thrown out by a majority of thirty-one against twenty-four.

“This attempt was not wholly ineffectual; for in May following a bill was brought in and passed into a law, whereby the further tender of Continental money as gold and silver, was stopped.

“There is another transaction upon record, of equal date, which displays the good sense of this Assembly very remarkably. They passed an act for striking £100,000 of paper money, funded on land as aforesaid, without any mention of tender, every one being left at liberty to receive the new bills of credit or not. If these undoubted facts are not demonstrative of the wisdom of the Assembly of 1780, a body almost wholly made up of constitutional Whigs, another striking one may be recollected. In their act for funding and redeeming

the old paper of Congress, passed June 1st, 1780, it is declared, 'that from that time all contracts should be made good, according to the special nature of each.'

"Thus did this House leave matters in October following, when their term expired. They had put an end to the mischiefs and iniquities arising from the tender of Continental bills for specie debts, and left the adjustment of contracts made during its existence, to their successors, to be taken up as soon as the minds of the people should recover from the shocks produced by these important changes on the most delicate of subjects. It is remarkable that the scale of depreciation, and other regulations in this business, was not finished by their successors before June, 1781.

"Let us next inquire into the conduct of the succeeding Assembly, which met in October, 1780. They enforced the tender of the bills of credit for £100,000, funded on land by an act expressly for that purpose. They did the like by the new bills of Congress, and, imagining that the former tender laws had proved insufficient, because the penalties were too small, they heightened the forfeitures in their acts; thus impliedly condemning their predecessors, who had emitted paper money without enforcing it upon any, and openly violating the declaration of the 1st of June before, 'that all contracts should be performed according to the special nature of each;' for they extended the new tenders to specie contracts, which had been made in reliance on the faith of the public, thus solemnly pledged.

"In April, 1781, they emitted the extravagant sum of 500,000*l.* in bills of credit, with similar penalties. It is true, indeed, that several of the members entered a protest against the tender clauses, though many of them, during the preceding winter, had concurred in and promoted those before mentioned. In June following, this same Assembly, convinced by experience, after eight months' blundering, brought matters back to the state wherein the former house had left them. In short, they repealed their own tender laws."*

* Freeman's Journal, Feb. 15th, 1782.

The Journals and manuscript papers confirm these statements fully. The legislation of 1780-1, controlled by the Anti-Constitutional party, seems if possible more pernicious than ever. On this question of tender laws and currency, parties were divided, the result being, that while enlightened men, like Mr. Reed and Mr. Morris, though differing on other points, united in denouncing them, larger fragments of masses that quarrelled in regard to everything else, united in their support. In December, 1780, the President wrote to a friend in Lancaster.

PRESIDENT REED TO WILLIAM HENRY.

Philadelphia, December 2, 1780.

Our Assembly affairs go on very badly and slowly. I send you the enclosed paper, which will show you how they propose to fund the new money. Can any man on earth suppose that while we have such deficiency of the old taxes, and such reluctance to lay new ones, that such paper thus funded can issue but at a depreciation? This will be a second and I fear a concluding impoverishment of the poor Whigs, who will have it forced upon them in all payments, while the Tories will be exempted as usual. Nothing done to support the State money, to support the credit of Mr. Searle, who is gone to Europe to borrow some hard money, and we believe is likely to succeed, as he is safe arrived and other letters give good prospects. Nothing done for supply to the army, payment of old debts, &c. The system seems to be to neglect or overturn everything that has been done for these two years past, and must end in confusion. The change in your County is very unfortunate.

I write confidentially, of which you will make a prudent use. Be pleased to tell Mr. Hall that we expect he will ascertain the number of horses quartered in Lancaster, and see they are proportioned to the number of men and officers as arranged by Congress on the new plan of the Quartermaster's Department. No more fattening poor horses on the public grain for a spring sale.

The rest of the history of the tender laws may be easily told. In February, 1781, they were suspended.* In March, the Committee of Ways and Means reported a bill authorizing a new emission of paper to the amount of £200,000 of equiva-

* Journals, 514, 572, 595.

lent value to Spanish dollars, pledging public lands for its redemption. In April, the amount was increased to £500,000, and the tender laws with regard to this emission were re-enacted in the most stringent form. The following protest, signed by Mr. Morris and seventeen others, is deserving of a place here as embodying in the most forcible and precise terms the unanswerable objections to all such pernicious legislation.

“First. Because the value of money, and particularly of paper money, depends upon the public confidence, and where that is wanting, laws cannot support it, and much less penal laws.

“Secondly. Because penalties on not receiving paper money must from the nature of the thing, be either unnecessary or unjust. If the paper is of full value, it will pass current without such penalties, and if it is not of full value, compelling the acceptance of it as equivalent to specie is iniquitous.

“Thirdly. Because such penalties impair the public credit; they show a diffidence of the paper in those who emit it, and thereby raise a like difficulty in those who are to receive it; their tendency therefore is to injure instead of benefiting what they are intended to support.

“Fourthly. Because it is inconsistent with the principles of liberty to prevent a man from the free disposal of his property on such terms and for such considerations as he may think fit.

“Fifthly. Because restrictions on the use or sale of those things which are the produce of human labour or ingenuity relax the spirit of honest industry, and promote idleness, fraud, and dissipation, from whence must necessarily follow public poverty and distress.

“Sixthly. Because a sacred regard to promises and engagements is the basis of social duty and social virtue; wherefore, every legislature ought to enforce it by its precepts, and every magistrate by his example; but measures like the present will have a contrary effect, and render our courts of justice the ministers of iniquity. Instead of compelling the performance of contracts, they not only permit and countenance, but aid and assist the violation of them. Hence it must follow that the

magistrates will be disrespected, the laws contemned, and the morals of the people polluted.

“Seventhly. Because every measure to enforce the acceptance of money, renders it the interest of debtors to depreciate it; fraudulent debtors will pursue that interest, and violate the spirit of the law by compelling a compliance with the letter of it.

“Eighthly. Because experience has demonstrated, that such measures have not prevented depreciation; but have enabled bad men to take advantage of it to the injury of the honest, and the absolute ruin of many who were once in easy and affluent circumstances.

“Ninthly. Because, from the manner in which it is proposed to issue our paper, the circulating medium will be diminished instead of being increased, and a faithful collection of the taxes will make the remainder necessary. Wherefore there is very little reason to apprehend a refusal of it; and still less for adopting such violent remedies.

“Tenthly. Because, we conceive the funds on which our paper is to be emitted, are so amply sufficient, that they give us and must give all others who consider them, the fullest confidence in it. We cannot therefore consent to any one act which may show the least want of that confidence; being convinced, that if the paper should depreciate, it can only be attributed to that cause.

“Eleventhly. Because those penalties are directly contrary to the Resolutions of Congress lately communicated to us. We humbly conceive that great attention and respect should be paid to every recommendation of that honourable body. And we are of opinion that nothing will sooner terminate the present war than harmony and thorough confidence between the Congress and the several Legislatures.

“In Assembly, April 6, 1781.”

Thus was the system which, as has been shown, the previous Legislature had endeavoured to abrogate, again fastened on the community. Had countenance and assistance been given to Mr. Searle abroad, and the further emission of paper been

arrested at home—had the improvement of the domestic revenue suggested by the Commissioners been adopted, a different result would have ensued. The following, without date, though evidently written in the spring of 1781, from the President, has peculiar interest in relation to these questions of currency and finances. His description of the quiet death of the revolutionary paper money is extremely curious. It is a letter written evidently under strong political feeling.

PRESIDENT REED TO JAMES SEARLE.

DEAR SIR,

After long expectation and some anxiety, your letter of the 14th February, via Boston, reached us, which is the first account we have had since your letter of 2d September, 1780, from Brest. Captain Kollock came to see me about five weeks ago, having been cast away upon one of the Bahama Keys; he had lost everything, so that the chain of your correspondence is yet to be filled up. I think I mentioned in a former letter that an attempt had been made in the House of Assembly to recall you, under such circumstances as would have been a sensible mortification to yourself and friends. You will be at no loss to guess the quarter from whence it originated, when you recollect who are not your friends here.

You may be assured your friends were not idle, and the stroke was parried without much difficulty. Inclosed are copies of the papers which passed on this occasion. However, on mature deliberation of the subject, and especially on your letter of the 14th February, we are unanimously of opinion it will be best for you to return as soon as possible. By this time, it is to be presumed, everything is done that can be done, and as the times are the most jealous that can be imagined, it will be prudent to afford as little cause as possible. I confess I was sanguine in the measure, and still think, had European politics borne the same aspect as when you embarked, you would have succeeded. If it had been possible to have procured clothing and military stores, it would have relieved us greatly, and given your mission a favourable appearance in the public eye. The fund provided for payment of principal and interest of your loan, if it had succeeded, has proved very productive, so as to leave no possibility of risk. I write upon supposition, that one at least of three or four laws sent you, imposing certain duties on the imports of this place, has got to hand. By the last accounts from the Naval Office, it had produced £4000, though only of a few months' standing, and that, in a great part, the most unfavourable season of the year. We have hitherto kept it sacred, not knowing what engagements you have entered into. I am very clear, from the experience we have had, and a

reasonable prospect of a great increase of the trade of this city, that in a few years it will not only pay the interest, but sink a part of the principal; so that at present it is indisputably the best fund this country possesses to engage confidence either at home or abroad.*

We were always apprehensive that Mr. C. would traverse you openly or secretly.† What a misfortune to any country when private interest, indolence, or selfishness occupy the breasts of those who, from their stations and abilities, might be the fathers and saviours of their country. Are we never to see a period to the fatal influence of G. and his associates, who have done so much to destroy the real interests of this country? I am really at a loss to know what methods can be taken from hence to counteract that to which you refer. The treatment of G. would, I should think, show every one in what estimation he is held here; though, upon recollection, it must be admitted the ways of A. Z. are like those of Heaven, dark and intricate, "puzzled with mazes and perplexed with errors," as equal measure is meted to the accuser and the accused, and reversing the usual rules of judgment which acquit all where guilt is doubtful, lest innocence should suffer, they seem to condemn all, lest guilt should escape. In every dispute there is a right and a wrong; and the indolence that will not examine, the timidity that dare not, or the policy that for party purposes opposes it, are equally prejudicial to the cause of honesty and virtue and the public good. G. is certainly the most fortunate villain in the world; I believe there is but one opinion of him among all the honest part of mankind, yet he has found a surprising support—but what will not confederacies in iniquity do? Common danger and interest unite them, while men of worth, having no such bond of union, and averse to the unpleasing task of detecting and punishing delinquencies, turn from the object with horror, and quit a pursuit which the arts of bad men always endeavour to ascribe to personal motives, and where even success draws no public gratitude. The frequent interposition of M. and N. in favour of that party, of which there has been recent instances, is not less wonderful; so that we may adopt the language of Scripture with a little variation, and say, it is [illegible] and it is marvellous in our eyes. A peculiar curse seems to have attended all the intercourse we have had through this unhappy channel. I do not believe we shall ever count pence in value for the pound we have paid or are to pay on this ill-fated concern.

The last ship expected, called the Marquis de Fayette, laden with

* By act of Assembly, 23d December, 1780, an impost on certain imported articles, (sugar, molasses, spirits, wine, tea, coffee, &c.,) was laid, payable in specie. In April, 1781, Congress was invested, so far as Pennsylvania was concerned, with a limited right to impose duties on foreign commerce. (*Journals*, 608.) Letters from Mr. Morris, on the subject of Mr. Searle's mission, will be found in *Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence*, xi. 408, 415.

† Some of the allusions in this letter are rendered obscure by the lapse of time. G. is probably Silas Deane, and A. Z. Congress.

clothing, &c., has now been out near five months, and is generally given up as lost. If there is any foundation for the reflections thrown upon 16, it must be a want of firmness to do what was proper, rather than temporizing and yielding from supposed political expediency. We have never received anything from Mr. Pinet, except one letter of apology, so that we deem that commission as extinct. Commodore Gillam is not yet arrived; there is great anxiety about him, as he has been so long expected. It is to be wished we could have been possessed of such a vessel as you describe; as the British fleet does not venture to separate, there is a great opportunity to cruise on the British trade. The successes of this place in smaller vessels have been very considerable. The universal dissatisfaction which prevailed with respect to our affairs in France occasioned sending Mr. Laurens over. We are, in short, strangely bewildered here on the business.

At present, let our affairs be in what condition they may, there will be no alteration on this side of the water, unless Death, the great changer of all things, shall force it. The good will of France seems of such indispensable importance that no considerations can be put in competition with it.

Having thus answered very fully your letter, I proceed to give you some account of our public affairs. The paper money has at length found its *ne plus ultra*; a total loss of confidence and credit, arising from a variety of causes, to some of which you cannot be a stranger, gave it an honourable, and, what you will, perhaps, think more extraordinary, a peaceful exit about three months ago. I believe the history of the world affords no instance of such a transition. At this time all dealings, and commerce of every kind, are carried on in gold and silver; paper having, in its turn, become a merchandise, and kept for some time at an exchange of four or five for one. You will naturally ask how has this been effected, and where have you found a sufficient and ready substitute. I answer, it was effected really and truly by the people themselves gradually depreciating the money till the exchange rose to two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one. Ostensibly it was occasioned by a declaration of the Supreme Executive Council that it should be received in public payments at a ratio of one hundred and seventy-five for one. At once, as if by that force which, in days of ignorance, would be ascribed to enchantment, all dealings in paper ceased. Necessity forced out the gold and silver—a fortunate trade opened at the same time to the Havanna for flour, all restrictions were taken off; and the Mexican dollars flowed in by thousands; this supported the sinking spirits of those who would have been discontented and uneasy, and in a few days, specie became the universal medium, and so continues. Every one is surprised at the change. Our enemies, both external and internal, who promised themselves tumults, insurrections and revolt, hang their heads in despondency and despair. A general system of economy and frugality will be a natural consequence of the money finding a settled value, and we may with reason hope soon to find ourselves on the same principles as other

nations. Congress have, after much experience and debate, resolved to simplify their system of government by a dissolution of Boards, and constituting a Minister for each Department of Finance, War, Marine, and Foreign Affairs. The first is already appointed, viz. Mr. Robert Morris, who is now exercising the office on terms of the most unlimited confidence, having a liberty to trade, and a general control of the expenditures of every kind, and of the conduct of most officers who have the disposal of money. The task of restoring the finances of this country must be a very arduous one.*

A Sully should have a Henry to support him, but it may be doubted whether Sullys or Henrys are the growth of the present age. At present neither principal nor interest on former loans are paid. The number and amount of public debts in other departments exceed belief; and yet the patience of the creditors is inexhaustible. Let ignorance and malice depreciate us as they may, the Whigs of America do honour to human nature.

General Washington's army, including all the troops in the field under Greene, Fayette and others, is, I believe, equal to what it has ever been. Great bounties are given, and men are procured, so that, upon the whole, our affairs on a general scale are as promising as at any period during the war. Trade is certainly very flourishing in this port, and in New England; the number of vessels greatly increasing, and the success of our privateers very considerable.

Disappointment and defeat seem to be the eventual portion of the British troops in every part of America. Cornwallis opened the campaign last year with brilliant prospects—had he remained in South Carolina until he had established order in that State and Georgia, it is highly probable the British Government would, by this time, have had some real energy, but he was induced to push his fortune first in North Carolina, then in Virginia, where, like a desolating meteor, he has passed, carrying destruction and distress to individuals—his army has walked through the country, daily adding to the number of its enemies, and leaving their few friends exposed to every punishment for their ill-timed and ill-placed confidence. Our last accounts from General Greene are, the reduction of every post in Carolina and Georgia, the capitals and one country post excepted, which had been some time invested with every prospect of final success. Cornwallis, after traversing great part of Virginia, has moved down to the seacoast, and we daily expect to hear of a partial embarkation to reinforce Clinton at New York, now threatened by General Washington and Count Rochambeau, who have formed their troops, and, perhaps, send the residue to Charlestown to support Rawdon."

Such became the exigency of the times that the President

* Mr. Morris was appointed Superintendent of Finance 20th February, 1781.

convoked the Assembly in extraordinary session in May, 1781. He then addressed them :

“The exigencies of the State, the requisitions of Congress, and the representations of the Commander-in-chief of the federal army, have made it indispensably necessary to convene you before the time of your adjournment.

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“And we most earnestly entreat you, gentlemen, in this session to lay aside all other considerations which do not tend to the establishment of public credit, the supply of the army, the relief of the frontiers, and the maintenance of civil government, all which now depend upon the issue of your deliberations. The eyes of the people of this State, and of all America, are upon you, and we trust they will not be disappointed in the hopes they have formed of the wisdom, firmness, and integrity of your measures.”

The message was at once referred, and a Committee appointed to report a repeal of the tender laws of every kind, and on the same day the Assembly ordered that no more bills of credit should be emitted except at a value equal to gold and silver. Various measures of taxation were suggested, but all seemed to involve some objection which prevented their enactment. Message after message was communicated by the Council. The Assembly seemed unable to conquer its scruples as to the medium in which revenue was to be paid, or to yield the lingering attachment to attempt the compulsory appreciation of currency. On 19th June, 1781, a message was sent by the President to the Assembly, which was most urgent and peremptory in its tone.

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

GENTLEMEN,

The public necessities compel us to address you in a language more serious and decisive than any we have ever yet adopted. Our respective powers are by the Constitution mutually defined and limited ; it is with you to provide the means of supporting the just and necessary war in which we are engaged, of procuring the supplies, and relieving the public distresses. It is with us to execute the laws, and apply those means to public purposes ;

and we are ready to abide the judgment of our country on the faithful performance of our duty. But we cannot consent that the public burdens should be devolved on us by hasty Resolves formed at the close of your sessions, or be left by you in a state of helpless responsibility for the great and important demands upon this State, which we have communicated to you, and which have been now before you a considerable time.

You must be sensible, Gentlemen, that the operation of any tax law, will, with all possible expedition, be too slow for our immediate necessities, that the support of the federal army, the subsistence of a great number of prisoners, the relief of the frontiers, and other daily wants of various kinds, require instant provision of the means of purchase, or that you should devise some other mode. While the tranquillity of the State admits the full operation of the Legislature, we neither can nor will exercise any other powers than such as will bear the full test of future inquiry; and should events, fatal and injurious to the State, follow in consequence of our being left in a state of inability to furnish our contingent in the public cause, or to guard against the practices of its deadly enemies, we shall hold ourselves justly acquitted before all the world. We have laid the state of the public wants fully before you; it was the hope of immediate relief that induced us to call you together, and though near three weeks have now elapsed, we are in the same state of imbecility and distress as when the session began. We had flattered ourselves that in this important crisis, when the greatest events, both in Europe and America, are depending, you would have adopted immediate and decisive modes to supply the army with provisions, support the frontiers, to recruit the line, strengthen the militia, and animate the well-affected by just and reasonable distinctions between them and persons of a different character; the bills depending before the House, and its proceedings, do not appear to us calculated to effect these important purposes, but rather to diminish the little strength and energy we retain. If the House, as it is to be presumed, is in possession of the confidence of the people, surely some immediate assistance might be drawn from those under whose choice your representation is so lately derived. We do most earnestly call upon you for this assistance, because without it we see no prospects of supplying the interval between this and the effective operation of the laws you may pass, to furnish the treasury with such money as the people will receive in payment. Your own experience and observation make it unnecessary to inform you, that neither the produce of the country nor of commerce are to be obtained for paper money, consistent with your late resolutions on that subject, which appear to us very proper. We therefore depend upon your providing us with other means before your adjournment, or relieve us from the responsibility in which we stand. The alarming consequences which in our present situation must ensue, if we are not supported, are too obvious to need enumeration, and will not easily admit of exaggeration; but we shall stand justified, as we have faithfully and re-

peatedly, from session to session, stated the approaching difficulties with clearness and precision.

JOSEPH REED, President.

This had its immediate effect: on the next day the tender laws were unanimously repealed; and after a conference between the Council, the Delegates in Congress, and the Superintendent of Finance, a measure of adequate revenue, such at least as was satisfactory at the time, was agreed on.

This sketch of the financial difficulties of this portion of Mr. Reed's administration, though rather in advance of the regular order of biographical narrative, will render intelligible many allusions in the correspondence, when it is resumed. It conveys some idea of the embarrassments by which the administration of the public affairs of the times of the Revolution was overwhelmed. Nor, as will now be seen, were financial misfortunes the only ones.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Philadelphia, April 11th, 1781.

General Wayne having communicated to me your letter to him, wanting money to pay off the bounties of recruiting, we should have willingly forwarded a sum from hence, if in our power, in addition to what we lately sent. But it is out of our power. *The Assembly broke up last evening, and their expenses have so exhausted the Treasury that it could not answer a draught for £10 this morning.* To remedy the defect as far as possible, we have sent Mr. ——— an order for £1000, which we hope will be sufficient for the present, and that it will be money to be raised on the delinquent classes which ——— be a proper mode of laying out that money.

We have had no account of the proceedings of the Commissioners beyond Susquehanna, or the law for raising recruits by classes, but it is the determination of the Council, strictly to execute it on such Commissioners as fail in their duty, to what purpose, you will see, in the newspaper herewith, a resolve of the Council, which I request you will send to the Commissioners of Cumberland after you have done with it.

PRESIDENT REED IN COUNCIL TO WASHINGTON.

May 17th, 1781.

—Surrounded as your Excellency is with military cares, it is not presumable you can have time to inquire into the concerns of particular States, but we are persuaded you will pardon our engrossing a small part of it, while we offer a few observations, palliative at least, if not justifying the seeming delinquencies of this State, whose government not standing in the same harmonious and respectable point of view as most of its neighbours, is under the necessity of appealing to private as well as public candour. This State has not only been the residence of Congress, with all their train of attendants and officers, but also of all the military mechanism, if we may so express ourselves, of the Continent. From hence the Quartermaster principally drew his wagons, his horses, his camp equipage of all kinds, besides a great number of wagoners and artificers, never carried into any public account, though supported with the real substance of the State for depreciated paper. Prisoners of war and prisoners of state have ever been, in a very great proportion, the inheritance of Pennsylvania. Our line until the mutiny* was deemed the flower of the army, not from its numbers so much as the appointments of the State, which exceeded any other. But your Excellency cannot suppose all this was done without great expense, and accumulating a heavy load of debt. We have indeed a painful pre-eminence in this particular, as your Excellency will see by the enclosed estimate, taken from that in which Congress framed a late circular address to the States. Under these circumstances our people, surcharged with Continental certificates, of the staff, a proportion of twenty millions, and fifty lent to the Continent, for which the lender can get neither principal nor interest, public credit exhausted, and private patriotism sinking under its partial and oppressive burdens, Congress adopted the system of State supplies. The first demands did not much exceed those bounds which the State might approach, though with difficulty attain. It was impossible for any State to be more anxious to compass them than this was. We framed a system upon principles which experience has approved. A sum of money was emitted upon funds which disaffection could not depreciate nor avarice speculate upon, but what neither disaffection nor avarice could do, party did. Lest the government should gain credit and any stability, every art was used to lessen the credit of the money and prevent its circulation; an agreement to pass the money at par was violated almost as soon as made. But to avoid the odium so obvious upon a failure of supplies, the scheme of the bank was adopted, by which the world was to see that individuals could do more than the Government; every decent overture was made by Government to effect a

* The mutiny of January, 1781, described in the next chapter.

union of strength, but in vain; elated by the countenance it received, and disdaining all aid underived from party views, it proceeded for a little time. But its notes would not circulate, it soon declined in credit, but it gave the paper money of the State an irreparable wound, and widened all the breaches which public virtue could wish to have closed.

In the mean time, the Committee at Camp prepared those extraordinary requisitions, which surprised every considerate man—the demands by far exceeding all the current cash within this State of every species and kind. Other nations have expended their whole income, they have broke in upon the capital, have anticipated future taxes, but to take double the money of a country at an instant for public use, was reserved to this occasion. However, that we might not be wanting to reasonable exertions, especially with a prospect of the French fleet arriving, and the hope of terminating the war, we strained every nerve. At your Excellency's call, we turned out the militia at a very great State expense, we purchased great numbers of horses, we procured wagons, and, in the articles of provisions, perseverance, and influence, supported by force, supplied the languid credit of the money. But we found ourselves so much exhausted, and the exertions, however inefficient (they might be represented), proved so burdensome to the people, that they sought relief in a change of rulers; the Assembly, which had passed laws for curbing the disaffected, for drawing forth the resources of the State, became odious, and even the calling forth of the militia, agreeable to your Excellency's requisition, proved no small source of obloquy and discontent, being represented by some as rather an idle parade to gratify particular vanity than resulting from real necessity. When the new Assembly met, being resolved to do everything in our power for the support and supply of the army, we laid before them all the requisitions, your Excellency's letters, &c., and added every inducement, as you will see by the enclosed messages. Besides which, in letters which prudence would not allow to be put on their minutes, we urged them, by every motive, to make an early provision for the army and frontiers, to avail themselves of the time which the winter would afford for these important preparations, but without effect; and, after sitting several weeks, they broke up, without entering into the subject further than to require every shipper of flour to deliver one-third of his purchases for the use of the army, and classing the inhabitants for men, in a mode which has proved very insufficient.

At the succeeding sessions, we again pressed them, as far as decency would admit; we represented the exhausted state of the Treasury, the decline of public credit, and other circumstances, which required the most vigorous and decisive measures. We began plainly to perceive that, by the importation of specie, in return for the flour shipped to the Havanna, and declining confidence in paper, we should soon find difficulties in purchasing with it. We promised ourselves that some system would have been framed for supplies, an estimate of which we laid before them; they were afterwards

informed the laws, which enabled the Commissioners to seize, in case of emergence, had expired. In the month of April the business of supplies was taken up, and so far effected as to direct an emission of five hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, for these and other purposes. We were, from the first, obliged to purchase at a great depreciation, which increased to three and four for one, but on the last arrivals from the Havanna, and before any declaration of exchange by public authority, the purchases immediately stopped; no flour could be had but for hard money, and so it has continued ever since, the late supplies having been procured chiefly on an exchange for salt. We then had recourse to the law directing one-third to be delivered to the State, but here, again, we were disappointed; the merchants would not deliver the one-third for paper money, but at a depreciation destructive of the money, and many wholly declining it. When the penalty was to be enforced, we were informed they would unlade it, send it over to New Jersey or the Delaware State, in small craft, and reship it from thence. Your Excellency advises to compulsory means, all others failing; every other State has laws enabling its Executive, on emergencies, to use such measures; these laws heretofore subsisted in this State, but being temporary, and now expired, the present Assembly have not thought it advisable to renew them, or repose any such confidence in their Executive. It may seem strange to your Excellency, but it is not less true, that we have not legal power to impress a single horse or wagon, let the emergency be what it will, nor have we any legal power whatever over property in any instance of public distress, or to apprehend the most notorious emissary from the enemy on any other than strict legal proof.

The persons described in your Excellency's letter last fall, as enlisting men for the enemy, which was laid before the Assembly, are now at large entitled to all the benefit of a Habeas Corpus. In this state of imbecility, with no other money but what is universally refused, even by those who had the principal share in emitting it; without powers to seize, under any circumstances, we regret our inability to answer the public expectation, with the keenest sensibility. We have communicated our situation to Congress; we have requested them to co-operate with us, and give private interest some check in the public favour until the Magazines could get a supply; we requested them to recommend an embargo, for unless that measure comprehended New Jersey and Delaware, it would not avail here; we even requested them to seize the outward-bound vessels, laden with flour, assuring them of our concurring in such a case of necessity; for we must frankly acknowledge there is no scarcity in the country. This city has now an abundance for exportation, though we cannot obtain a barrel with our money; this commodity being only attainable for specie. We have again called the Assembly, with the last hope of receiving some relief under our complicated burdens and distresses, which are almost insupportable to minds anxious to discharge their duty to the public, and support the contest

to an honourable issue. The sufferings of the army receive, at least, the sympathy and praise of their country ; we have not even this consolation. We would ever avoid comparisons as invidious, but we believe, when our supplies are compared with those of other States, we shall in all respects have been found equal to our neighbours. No other State making regular returns, their deficiencies cannot be easily ascertained as ours, but we have good authority to say that, for two years past, Pennsylvania has borne one-fourth of the whole expense of the war. It is true our exertions have not been of that brilliant nature as to draw public acknowledgments, though we are not entirely without them.

Your Excellency observes we are short of our quota. We frankly acknowledge that, in our opinion, the abilities of the State are not equal to the quota assigned ; but we have done all in our power to attain it. We do not find that any State has supplied its quota ; and we submit to your Excellency whether such constant deficiencies do not prove that the estimates are on too large a scale, or that there is a general reluctance on the part of the people. The quotas are the only rule by which your Excellency can go ; but when members of Congress are addressed on this point, they answer that the estimates are prepared in the army, and they can only adopt them as framed by the hands of the several Departments. The supplies demanded this year, at the rates Congress have reckoned, which are much below market prices, are equal to eleven years taxes and all other income of the State in its most prosperous days ; besides which, all the expenses of the frontiers, satisfaction to the army, support of the government, and the vast variety of other charges are to be provided for. All these to be defrayed by money not half equal to the service nominally, and which even the best Whigs will not take but for five or six times below its legal value, and many refusing it altogether. In this view of our situation, we must submit to your Excellency's candour and to that of the world, being well assured that, all circumstances known and considered, be the consequences what they may, we shall stand justly acquitted of them before God and man. That your Excellency should make the most particular representations of the state of supplies to Congress, and urge the States to proper exertions, perfectly accords with our idea of that propriety which has ever distinguished your public conduct ; but if unfavourable inferences are thence drawn, and delinquencies imputed to a particular body of men which are justly chargeable to another or to the community at large, we submit to your Excellency's good judgment whether it is not as natural and just to state freely and justly the true and real causes of our misfortunes, and whether it is not the justice which innocence and a faithful discharge of public duty reasonably demand. We acknowledge and lament the decline of public spirit, the rapacity of private gain, the prevalence of disaffection, the malevolence of faction, and many other causes which seem to have corrupted all the springs of government. But we disdain every practice of this kind ourselves, and having

endeavoured by precept, by example, and exertion of public authority, to check these evils, so pregnant with ruin, we cannot but claim an exemption also from having any share of censure for the consequences they may produce. And though the army may justly boast many splendid instances of public virtue and disinterested regard to the public interests, we cannot admit their claim to an exclusive one; at least we think civil characters may with propriety ask a candid construction of their conduct, and kind forbearance with each other under mutual difficulties. If the service of the public was not a sufficient inducement, the grateful respect we bear your Excellency for your great and signal services would operate powerfully on us, as we are not ignorant or inattentive to the laborious, the glorious task which Providence has assigned to you, the burdens of which we rejoice to alleviate whenever it is in our power.

But we shall trespass too much on your Excellency's patience, and therefore hasten to conclude a letter which has already exceeded all reasonable bounds. In doing this, we apprehend it our duty to mention some other particulars of a public nature. In the last page of the enclosed paper your Excellency will find a report of the Assembly on the causes of the mutiny. It might have been expected that gentlemen possessed of facts, as they must have been in order to make such a report, would have pointed out the persons and transactions to which they allude, when they say "certain offences, inquirable by Court-Martial and military proceedings, were among the causes." One instance occurring to us, we thought proper to lay it before a Court-Martial. We, last summer, sent forty-six thousand dollars to Camp, to pay an arrearage of bounty due to certain recruits. When General Potter went to Camp in the winter, he was waited upon by these recruits, complaining of being defrauded by the State of their bounty. Upon inquiry, the receipts were found, and among others a Lieutenant Bigham appeared to have been entrusted as the bearer of a considerable part of it. On being called to answer, he acknowledged his having spent it; and among the frivolous excuses, alleged his necessities on the road, though upon examining our minutes we found he had been furnished with money for his expenses. We desired General St. Clair to inquire into it by a Court-Martial, which was readily granted, but reluctantly attended, and as abruptly dissolved, before they made any report. They were called together again, reprov'd for this un-military procedure, and the fact proved as above; but we do not know what is become of it, the officers being dispersed without any satisfaction given to us. We cannot but expect mutinies, if injustice is thus done the soldiery with impunity. The greatest part of these men, though enlisted for the war, are now gone, in consequence of the disappointment of their bounty. The march of the Pennsylvania Line to the Southward has been an object of great anxiety to us; but really the demands increased upon us in such a manner that we began to doubt whether they would ever march. A settlement was first necessary; then an advance of money: both these being rea-

sonable, were complied with. Then a new law was requested to pay down one-third of the depreciation, and a new settlement to be made; then interest to be included, all which took up much time, the articles of clothing, &c., having been provided long ago. These demands were all satisfied, as soon as money could be emitted. The auditors were sent back to go round the State the second time. We made an arrangement by which every officer was to be settled with at his proper post, and suitable portions of money sent to each place; but as soon as it was known that a payment was begun at Newtown, the officers came together in all directions, money designed for one place was broken into at another, our plan subverted, and much time was lost. To apologise for the delay, the Auditor was accused by some of the officers of drunkenness and incapacity, though he has long served the Continent, with reputation in matters of account. Expresses came to us for more certificates, for more money, and, in short, confusion and delay took place. General Wayne having intimated to us his intention of writing to your Excellency on this subject, we hope he has fully explained it. We can assure your Excellency the above statement is strictly just. We complied with his requisitions in every particular, except the appointment of two auditors, who on the first settlement had made the most inexcusable mistakes. If any other delay has happened than we have stated above, it arose from unavoidable necessity, and was the immediate consequence of the requisitions of the officers themselves, and the laws passed thereupon.

Conscious of having faithfully and diligently applied to the public service, denying ourselves not only a common attention to our private affairs, but even the smallest amusements, and having, to the best of our understandings, transacted the public business entrusted to our charge, next to the approbation of our own minds, we would wish to give satisfaction to the country, and in a more particular manner to your Excellency. But, as in the beginning of this contest, when want of discipline, of courage, and other military virtues brought on losses and defeats, too many sought to ascribe them to their Generals, so now finding the public credit sunk, taxes demanded, and the spirit which animated them in the beginning of the contest absorbed by private considerations, there are too many who seek to exonerate themselves by the most unfair and even cruel imputations on their rulers. For our parts, in particular, we find our burdens so great, and our offices so unthankful, that we shall most cheerfully give place to men of better abilities, and to whom more confidence may be given—in fidelity and diligence we cannot yield to any and whenever our country shall think proper to dismiss us either with praise or censure, we shall retire with the consciousness of having, with sincerity and diligence, endeavoured to do our duty. While we remain in office, we shall, as we may be supported and enabled, exert ourselves for the public welfare, and ever pay a scrupulous regard to the requisitions of Congress, and the representations your Excellency may think proper to make.

With these sentiments, and entreating your Excellency to excuse the length of this statement, we hasten to add our sincerest wishes for the continuance

of your health and honour, and that the future happiness of your life may compensate the cares and anxieties which now attend it.

Your Excellency's most obedient and

Very humble servant,

JOSEPH REED, President.

This letter develops a distressing state of things, and there is every reason to believe it is no degree exaggerated. It is worthy of observation that in the later periods of the war, when the result was certain, and no one supposed it possible, that in any contingency, the supremacy of Great Britain could be restored, many men came forward, who, at an earlier day, had been content with safer seclusion and obscurity. The ranks of the opposition of 1781, were largely filled with recruits from the Tories and passive men of 1776, and it is not to be wondered at that the old-fashioned Whigs of the times of actual trial should have become irritable and resentful.

It was in the same year when this correspondence occurred and these animosities existed, that we have from two foreign travellers, in America, of widely differing tastes and opportunities, some views of the state of society and manners in Philadelphia, to which I am tempted incidentally to refer, if it be only for the purpose of breaking the monotony of the narrative of grave and painful public affairs. The Marquis de Chastellux,* a young military noble of the Court of Louis XVI., and grandson of the great d'Aguesseau, and the Abbé Robin, a French priest, attached as a chaplain to Rochambeau's army, and evidently a man of education, refinement, and what too rarely adorns his function, of liberality. For though the French priest concludes his Book of Travels with an ingenious disquisition on the advantage of a single and exclusive form of faith, he speaks with kindly and gentlemanly approval of religious services differing from his own, and sees in Puritan Connecticut, and its simple and austere devotion, much to admire and approve.

* Voyage de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, dans les années, 1780, 1781, et 1782. A Paris, 1786, 2 tomes.

Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, en l'année, 1781, et campagne de l'armée de M. le Comte de Rochambeau. Par M. l'Abbé Robin. Paris, 1782.

"Scattered through the woods," says he, "they have little intercourse with each other, except on the days when they go to church. Their houses are spacious and airy, built generally of wood, at least one story high; they have every convenience, and I have everywhere found marks of industry and inventive genius. They all know how to read; all take the newspaper published in the neighbouring village (often dignified with the name of 'City'). I have never been in a single house, without finding a Bible there, which they read every evening and on Sundays in their families."* On arriving at Philadelphia, M. Robin describes his impressions very grotesquely, especially that of Mr. Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, and a review of the French troops before the President, when the Philadelphia crowd, unused to the pageantry of war, mistook a courier for the commander-in-chief.

"Tompson, le Secrétaire du Congrès, l'âme de ce corps politique vient recevoir et donner des complimens. Sa figure maigre, sillonneux, ses yeux caves et étincelans, ses cheveux blancs, droits, ne descendant pas à ses oreilles, fixèrent et surprirent tous nos regards.

"Le Président du Congrès† honora de sa présence, en gros habits de velours noir ce spectacle (the Review). Les bons Pensilvaniens sont bien loin de nous pour l'étiquette, comme nous bien loin d'eux pour la législation. Nous nous amusâmes beaucoup de l'erreur du peuple, qui prit pour un Général un de ces hommes qui nos grands Seigneurs ont souvent à leur suite pour les devancer ou porter leurs missives. Son court just au corps, sa riche cotte à frange d'argent, ses souliers couleur de rose, son bonnet armoirié, sa canne à pomme énorme leur parurent autant de Marquis d'une éminente dignité : toutes les fois qu'il s'approchoit du Colonel Commandant son maître, pour recevoir ses ordres, on croyoit qu'il les lui donnoit."

The Marquis de Chastellux visited Philadelphia in the month of November, 1780, and spent some time in the capital of the

* In Philadelphia, speaking of theological polemics, he says: "Déjà même les écrits, les discours des ministres y ont autant pour objet d'attaquer, de ridiculiser leurs rivaux, que d'édifier leurs sectaires; et Philadelphie, le centre du tolérantisme, a vu des sects soutenir leurs droits par des injures et des coups. D'autres tems rendront ces combats dangereux." (p. 214.) The prophecy of 1781 was realized in 1844.

† Mr. M'Kean was then President of Congress.

Colonies, enjoying its society apparently with as much zest as if it had been a much more pretending Metropolis, and adapting himself to the usages of the primitive community, with the facility which distinguishes his nation. His pleasant description of society and manners, of the men of wealth and fashion, of the ladies of attraction and accomplishment,—the beauties of that day,—one of whom, though nearly seventy years have since rolled by, still lives amongst us honoured and esteemed,—is very interesting, and is disfigured by as few errors as might be expected from the observation of a stranger who did not speak the language.* His opinions of political matters are tinged with the party feelings which then were prevalent,—his associations being generally with those who, as leaders of fashionable society, were least cordially affected to the Whig cause—but on the whole his judgment is fair and impartial. His reference to Mr. Reed, for which alone, and thus incidentally the Travels have been alluded to, is as follows :

“Après ce dîner, que j’ai peut-être prolongé trop long-temps à la manière de ce pays-ci, le Chevalier de la Luzerne me mena faire des visites. La première fut chez M. Reed, président de l’Etat. Cette place répond à celle de Gouverneur dans les autres provinces, sans avoir pourtant la même autorité ; car le gouvernement de la Pensylvanie est tout-à-fait démocratique, et consiste uniquement dans l’assemblée générale, ou, si l’on veut, dans la Chambre des Communes. Celle-ci nomme un Conseil exécutif, composé de douze Membres qui ont un pouvoir très limité, et qui sont obligés de rendre compte à l’assemblée, dans laquelle ils n’ont pas de voix. M. Reed a été Officier général dans l’armée Américaine ; il y a montré du courage, et il a eu un cheval tué sous lui dans une escarmouche près de White-marsh. Cest lui que le Gouverneur Johnstone essaya de corrompre en 1778, lorsque l’Angleterre envoya des Commissaires pour traiter avec le Congrès ; mais cette démarche s’étoit bornée à quelques insinuations, dont on avoit chargé une Madame Ferguson. M. Reed qui est homme d’esprit, un peu intrigant, et sur-tout avide de la faveur populaire, fit beaucoup d’éclat, publia et exagéra les offres qu’on lui avoit faites. Comme il étoit lié intimement avec le Général Washington, il lui étoit aisé de justifier l’importance qu’il cherchoit à se donner. Les plaintes de Madame Ferguson, qui avoit été compromise, une déclaration publique du Gouverneur Johnstone, dont l’objet étoit de nier les faits, mais qui ne servoit qu’à les prouver ; diverses accusations et réfutations imprimées et rendues publiques,

* Chastellux, vol. i. p. 264, describes an Assembly in Philadelphia.

n'eurent d'autre effet que de seconder les vues de M. Reed, et de le faire parvenir à son but, qui étoit de jouer un premier rôle dans sa patrie. Malheureusement ses prétentions ou son intérêt, l'on conduit à se déclarer l'ennemi de M. Franklin. Lorsque j'étois à Philadelphie, il n'étoit question de rien moins que de rappeler cet homme respectable; mais le parti françois, ou celui du Général Washington, ou pour mieux dire encore, le parti vraiment patriote, a prévalu, et on s'est contenté d'envoyer en France un Officier chargé de représenter le mauvais état de l'armée, et de demander des habillemens, des tentes, et de l'argent dont elle avoit grand besoin. Le choix tomba sur le Colonel Lawrens.

"M. Reed habite une belle maison, arrangée et meublée à l'angloise.* Je trouvai chez lui Madame Washington, qui arrivoit de Virginie, et qui alloit joindre son mari, comme elle a coutume de le faire à la fin de chaque campagne. C'est une femme de quarante à quarante-cinq ans, un peu grasse, mais fraîche et d'une figure agréable. Après avoir passé un quart d'heure chez M. Reed, nous allâmes voir M. Huntington, Président du Congrès: nous le trouvâmes dans son cabinet, éclairé par une seule chandelle. Cette simplicité rappeloit celle des Fabricius et des Philopemenes. M. Huntington est un homme droit, qui n'épouse aucun parti, et sur lequel on peut compter. Il est né dans le Connecticut, et il étoit délégué pour cet Etat, lorsqu'il fut élu Président."†

The allusion to Mr. Reed's opposition to Franklin at this time I am unable further to explain than by attributing it to the political misrepresentations then so current in Philadelphia, the evidence derived from Franklin's letters and Arthur Lee's conduct leading to a different conclusion.‡

A few days later, he thus describes a Free Conference between the Executive Council and the Assembly, and all who are acquainted with the fame of one of the actors in the scene—I refer to General Mifflin, who was always distinguished as a popular and declamatory orator, and who was especially hostile to President Reed—will recognise the truthfulness of this part of the description.

"Le 5, j'allai encore à l'Hôtel-de-Ville, mais c'étoit pour assister à l'assemblée de l'Etat de Pensylvanie; car la salle où cette espece de parlement s'assemble, est dans le même édifice que celle du Congrès. J'étois avec M.

* Mr. Reed, as President, occupied the house still standing at the southeast corner of Market and Sixth Streets, used lately as the Schuylkill Bank.

† Vol. i. Chastellux, p. 161.

‡ Supra, Vol. i. p. 396.

de la Fayette, le Vicomte de Noailles, le Comte de Damas, M. de Gimat, et tout ce qu'il y avoit de François ou de Gallo-Américains à Philadelphie. Nous nous plaçâmes sur un banc vis-à-vis la chaire de l'Orateur : il avoit à sa droite le Président de l'Etat ; la place des Clercs ou des Greffiers étoit le long d'une grande table qui est devant l'Orateur. Les débats rouloient sur quelques transgressions, dont on accusoit la commission de la trésorerie. Le Conseil exécutif fut mandé et entendu. Il n'y eut gueres que le Général Mifflin qui parla ; il le fit avec esprit et avec grace, mais avec une intention marquée de contredire le Président de l'Etat, qui n'est pas de ses amis. Sa manière de s'exprimer, ses gestes, son maintien, l'air d'aisance et de supériorité qu'il conservoit toujours, me retraçoient parfaitement ces membres de la Chambre des Communes, qui sont accoutumés à donner le ton aux autres, et à faire tout plier sous leur opinion. L'affaire n'ayant pu être terminée dans la matinée, l'Orateur quitta la chaire ; la Chambre se forma en comité, et s'ajourna."*

A description of a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, which he attended in company with Mr. Reed, is the last extract I shall make from these agreeable volumes.†

"J'avois compté partir de Philadelphie le 15, mais le Président de l'Etat, qui est aussi celui de l'Académie, avoit eu la bonté de m'inviter à une assemblée que cette compagnie devoit tenir ce jour-là. Il m'étoit d'autant plus difficile de me refuser à son invitation, qu'on avoit déjà proposé de m'élire comme membre étranger. Les assemblées ne se tiennent que tous les quinze jours, et les élections ne se font que tous les ans : chaque candidat doit être présenté et recommandé par un membre de l'académie ; après cette recommandation, son nom est affiché pendant trois séances consécutives, dans la salle où l'académie s'assemble ; enfin on procède à l'élection par voie de *ballotes*. Ce n'est que depuis trois jours que j'ai appris la mienne. Elle a été unanime, ce qui arrive très rarement. M. de la Fayette lui-même, qui a été élu en même temps que moi, a en une *boule* contre lui, mais on croit que c'est par méprise. On m'a mandé que nous étions vingt-un candidats, dont sept seulement ont été élus, quoique les autres eussent été vivement recommandés, et qu'il y eût beaucoup de places vacantes.

"Comme la séance de l'académie ne commence qu'à sept heures du soir, j'employai la matinée à faire quelque visites, après lesquelles je dinai chez M. Holker avec le Chevalier de la Luzerne, M. de la Fayette et tous les Officiers françois ; ensuite je me rendis à l'académie, conduit par M. de

* Chastellux, vol. i. p. 186. President Reed's eldest son, the late Joseph Reed, Esq., was General Mifflin's Aid, on the Western Insurrection, and the sole executor of his Will. Political animosities are happily not long lived.

† Id. p. 186.

Marbois, qui appartient à ce corps ainsi que le Chevalier de la Luzerne. Celui-ci ayant des affaires d'un autre genre, se dispensa de m'accompagner, mais il m'avoit remis en bonnes mains. M. de Marbois, joint à toutes les qualités politiques et sociales beaucoup de littérature et une parfaite connaissance de la langue angloise. L'assemblée étoit composée de quatorze ou quinze personnes seulement; le Président du college faisoit les fonctions de Secrétaire. On y lut un mémoire sur une plante singulière et indigène; ensuite le secrétaire rendit compte de la correspondance et lut une lettre, dont l'objet étoit d'associer, ou pour mieux dire d'affilier à l'académie de Philadelphie, plusieurs sociétés savantes qui se forment dans chaque Etat. Ce projet tendoit à faire de cette académie une espece de congrès littéraire, auquel correspondroient les *legislatures* particulieres. On ne jugea pas à propos de suivre cette idée; il parut qu'on craignoit l'embarras inséparable de toutes ces adoptions, et que l'académie ne vouloit pas qu'on pût lui appliquer ces vers d'Athalie :

D'où lui viennent de tous côtés
Ces enfans qu'en son sein elle n'a pas portés !

Je retournai, le plutôt qu'il me fut possible, &c."*

* FRANCOIS JEAN MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX was born at Paris, 1734, and served with distinction in the wars of Germany. On his return from America, he was appointed Governor of Longwi, and died 28th October, 1788.

CHAPTER XIV.

1781.

Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line—Its causes—Wayne's Letters describing the Progress of Discontent—Washington's Letter to Gouverneur Morris—Destitution at Camp—President Reed and Committee of Congress visit the Camp—Wayne, Stewart and Butler—Mr. Reed's Letters on the Revolt and its Suppression—Sir Henry Clinton's Spies executed—Refusal of Troops to receive Reward—Washington's Letter to President Weare—Embargo on Port of Philadelphia—Armstrong's Letter—Arnold's invasion of Virginia—Action of the Assembly on the Revolt—Plan to assassinate Washington, Reed, Clinton, and Livingston—Character of Governor Livingston of New Jersey.

IN the midst of the difficulties which have been narrated, a new and most alarming incident occurred. On the night of New Year's day, 1781, the Pennsylvania Line, stationed at Morristown, broke into open mutiny, and, after a struggle with such of the officers as attempted resistance, in which several were wounded and one killed, began a tumultuous march towards the Delaware. It was one of the most harassing events of the War. It had its real and its imaginary dangers. Among the latter was the suspicion to which it gave rise that Arnold's example had been, to some extent, seductive, and that the regular line of the army was infected by disaffection and an amount of insubordination that was only looked for in militia. This proved illusory, for the instant that Sir Henry Clinton sent his emissaries to mix with the mutineers, and foment the excitement, they were secured, and surrendered to immediate and ignominious punishment. The real danger was the example of the mutiny itself on other parts of the service, and the consequence of a disregard of discipline in the devastation of the country through which their line of march lay. The muti-

neers, armed with a considerable train of artillery, were strong enough to have put Philadelphia, whither their course seemed to be directed, under contribution. The history of the revolt and its suppression, is assumed to be familiar, and need be no further referred to than as it illustrates a purely personal narrative. Mr. Reed's services, as all contemporary testimony shows, were very great, and his correspondence contains the most intelligible narrative of the affair that is extant.

The main source of difficulty, as stated by the soldiery, was the uncertain ty of the terms of enlistment. But beside this, there were causes of exasperation scarcely less influential—the want of food, of pay, and clothing. It is a great mistake to suppose that the mutiny was, or ought to be considered, an unlooked for and unaccountable explosion, which might have been averted. The following extracts from letters written from Camp during the fall of 1780, show a state of suffering and destitution which accounts for all the discontent that was manifested. On 17th October, Wayne had written:

“I am induced to call on the Honourable Council to adopt some mode to procure a fresh supply of blankets and winter clothing for the officers and privates belonging to the State of Pennsylvania. The weather begins to pinch. Hard necessity obliges us to be economical. Our soldiers' uniforms are much worn and out of repair. We have adopted the idea of curtailing the coats to repair the elbows and other defective parts, for which we shall immediately want needles and thread. Will your Excellency be so obliging as to direct them to be procured and sent to Camp with the other stores with all possible despatch.”

WAYNE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Camp at Totowa, 7th November, 1780.

I was honoured with yours of the 31st ultimo, and sincerely lament that *gold*, the common pest of human felicity, should so absorb the minds of gentlemen of the first influence and abilities as to prevent them from exerting every power to rescue their country from impending ruin, for however they may think of public affairs, we never stood upon such perilous ground

as the present. The period is fast approaching when America will have only the skeleton of an army to oppose the British, and even that destitute of almost every comfort and necessary of life, whilst that of the enemy are in high expectation, well appointed, and fully prepared, and instructed to improve the favourable crisis in which we are most vulnerable, in order to obtain territory to go to the European market with. Is it not very probable that Russia and the other Northern States will not only call upon, but demand the Belligerent Powers to meet in Convention this winter, in order to restore peace to the European and American world? Will they not offer themselves as mediators? Overtures must necessarily follow. France is bound in honour to insist upon the independence of America as a preliminary, to which Britain will certainly object, but to evince her moderation and pacific disposition, may as an ultimatum propose, that all such States as at the time of the ratification are in the full powers and peaceable possession of Government and Independence shall remain so, and that all those whose capitals and seaport towns are garrisoned by, and under the influence of the British Government, to be and continue subject to her, agreeably to the Charters and Laws antecedent to 1763.

I don't know what weight such plausible overtures may have with a general convention, but have my apprehensions, and sincerely wish that we may not be reduced to the necessity of fighting our own battles. I suppose, for a moment, the possibility of their being adopted; let us examine the map of America, and see how it will then stand.

Canada, Nova Scotia, New York, South Carolina, Georgia, and the Floridas—can I stop here, or must I have the painful idea of annexing *another State* to the British dominions? Is there an American in either the civil or military line base enough to submit to such conditions? "Forbid it, honour, and forbid it, virtue." Permit me to draw a veil over the horrid picture, and to impress every gentleman with the absolute expediency of doing away all party prejudice. With regard to the Constitution, it will be time enough to take that up when we have fully determined whether we shall have any left to contend for; at present every power ought to be exerted in establishing magazines, replenishing an exhausted Treasury, and a completion of the quota of troops, which may once more place us in a situation not only to defend this country from depredation, but, by one of those fortuitous events which sometimes happens, to reclaim the ground we have lost.* I know the character of those we are to contend with—they will certainly commit themselves, in the course of the winter, from a presumption that we shall not be in force to meet them in the field. You may rest assured that they have changed their mode of operation, and, if we improve the present moment, we shall effectually frustrate them. I must beg leave once

* These patriotic counsels of Wayne, like those of Edward Biddle, two years before, (*supra*, p. 47,) were, unhappily, inoperative. Hostility to the State Constitution trampled down all higher and purer considerations.

more to refer you to my letter of the 17th Sept. on the subject of recruiting, &c., and also to suggest, that in place of raising a corps of four hundred and eighty artificers, you agree to enlist a due proportion with the other States, as, from the nature of the service, they will necessarily be detached to every point of operation, from Canada to Georgia, which will add to the difficulty of sending them the usual supplies—beside the almost impracticability of procuring so many in the State, and in place of the whole you agree to a seventh regiment of infantry for the defence of the Western frontier, which will leave us six regiments, or two complete brigades, in the field. General Irvine will have it more in his power to explain this matter *viva voce*, than I can attempt to do on paper. I therefore must beg leave to refer you to him on that subject as well as other matters.

Interim I have the honour to be, with much esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

The next letter, written little more than a fortnight before the mutiny, puts the actual grievances of the officers and men in a strong light. It is very curious.

WAYNE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Mount Kemble, 16th December, 1780.

Your favour, (without date,) inclosing Captain Zeigler's appointment as State Clothier and Issuing Commissary of State Stores, I had the honour to receive a few days since.

You very justly observed to Mr. Little that, had I been made acquainted with your instructions to him, I would not have attempted to contravene them, unless justified by pressing circumstances; but not being informed of your orders, and finding that there was a very great deficiency of supplies upon comparing the issues with the letter of the law, together with the good policy (I might have said absolute expediency) of a liberal donation of these comforts at an approaching *crisis*, induced me to order him to Philadelphia. The last reason operates rather in fuller force at this period. I have therefore directed Captain Zeigler to wait on your Excellency with the enclosed returns and estimate of clothing, on the presumption that the most effectual means will be adopted to procure a full supply of that essential article, and that every exertion will be used for the immediate completion of our quota of troops.

You'll please to observe, that the return of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates entitled to receive State stores, are only those of the ten regiments of infantry and seven companies of Proctor's artillery now under my command. What number of troops there may be in the German

and Hazen's regiments, and Col. Moylan's horse, belonging to the State of Pennsylvania, enlisted for the war, I am yet to learn; but should conclude, if they drew the supplies from Mr. Little, the total rations, officers included, after making due allowances for rank, would not be far short of 3500. However, I have directed Mr. Little to make out and settle his accounts with the Honourable Council immediately, and in the interim have called upon him for the return of State stores issued from the 27th January until this date, being *forty-six weeks*, by which you'll find that the troops have not been served one-third part of the time.

When I mention these facts, I beg to be perfectly understood. I don't mean to cast any reflection upon the conduct of your Excellency or the Honourable Council; on the contrary, I am but too well convinced that nothing on your part was omitted to render the situation of the officers and soldiers as comfortable as the exhausted state of the treasury and other circumstances would admit of; and although they were not equal to your wishes or their merits and expectations, yet they have been such as afforded great relief to both officers and soldiers. But those comforts being for some time totally consumed, we are reduced to dry bread and beef for our food, and to cold water for our drink. Neither officers or soldiers have received a single drop of spirituous liquors from the public magazines since the 10th of October last, except one gill per man some time in November; this, together with the old worn out coats and tattered linen overalls, and what was once a poor substitute for a blanket, (now divided among three soldiers,) is but very wretched living and shelter against the winter's piercing cold, drifting snows, and chilling sleets.

Our soldiery are not devoid of reasoning faculties, nor are they callous to the first feelings of nature; they have now served their country with fidelity for near five years, poorly clothed, badly fed, and worse paid; of the last article, trifling as it is, they have not seen a paper dollar in the way of pay for near *twelve months*.

In this situation the enemy begin to work upon their passions, and have found means to circulate some proclamations among them. Capt. Zeigler will be able to inform your Excellency of matters which I don't choose to commit to paper. However, I don't despair of being able to restore harmony and content, and to defeat every machination of the public foe, and the more dangerous lurking incendiary, if aided by your Excellency in a timely supply of stores and clothing. But what will insure success, is the immediate passing of the act for making good the depreciation. Give your soldiery a landed property, make their interest and the interest of America reciprocal, and I will answer for their bleeding to *death*, drop by drop, to establish the independency of this country. On the contrary, should we neglect rewarding their past services, and not do justice to their more than Roman virtue, have we nothing to apprehend from their defection? Believe me, my dear sir, that if something is not immediately done to give them a

local attachment to this country, and to quiet their minds, we have not yet seen the worst side of the picture.

The officers in general, as well as myself, find it necessary to stand for hours every day, exposed to wind and weather, among the poor naked fellows, while they are working at their huts and redoubts, often assisting with our own hands, in order to produce a conviction to their minds that we share and more than share every vicissitude in common with them, sometimes asking to participate of their bread or water. The good effect this conduct has is very conspicuous, and prevents them murmuring in public; but the delicate mind and eye of humanity are hurt, very much hurt, at their visible distress and private complainings. Be assured, sir, that we depend much upon your interest, (and we flatter ourselves that that dependence is well founded,) to remove those difficulties and alleviate the distresses they now experience. An immediate supply of hard cash to pay the bounty to the recruits we have enlisted for the war out of the seven months' men is absolutely necessary; I think the number is already about one hundred. We could have retained every man we wished, had we been furnished with specie in time. I fear it is now too late; the mode of recruiting will probably be by classing the inhabitants, and obliging those classes to furnish a given number of men for the war by a certain day, which I wish the earliest possible, to the end that we may have it in our power to reduce them to some degree of discipline before the opening of the campaign, as we shall probably take the field in conjunction with the first corps of France.

That our operations may be productive of a speedy and honourable peace, and that you may still continue to hold a conspicuous place in the councils of your country, is the sincere wish of

Your Excellency's most obedient

And very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.*

* The following letter from Washington to Gouverneur Morris has never before been printed. It was found among the papers of Mr. Jay, and was furnished to me by L. Rutherford, Esq., of New York.

New Windsor, 10th December, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 28th ult. I met with on my way to these quarters, where I arrived on the 6th inst. The suggestions contained in it required no apology, as it gives me pleasure at all times to know the sentiments of others upon matters of public utility. Those, however, which you have delivered relative to an enterprise against the enemy in New York, exhibit strong evidence how little the world is acquainted with the circumstances and strength of our army. A small second embarkation took place about the middle of last month; if another is in contemplation, to take effect at the reduction of our force, (which I think exceedingly probable,) it is too much in embryo to form more than conjectural opinions

With such developements of actual and torturing destitution, is it to be wondered at that the powers of endurance of the common soldier were exhausted? Is it not rather a matter of surprise that their fidelity should, at such moments of necessity, have resisted the wiles which the British authorities spread for them. Sir Henry Clinton offered the re-

of it at this time. But I will suppose it large, and that not more than 6000 regular troops will be left behind. Where are the men? Where are the provisions? Where the clothes, the everything necessary to warrant the attempt you propose in an inclement season? Our numbers, never equal to those of the enemy in New York,—our State lines, never half complete in men, but perfectly so in every species of want, were diminished in the field so soon as the weather began to grow cold; near 2000 men on account of clothes, which I had not to give, nor ought to have given, (supposing a surplusage,) to the levies whose dismissal was near at hand. And now, to prevent the man who is a permanent soldier from starving, I am obliged, in place of calling in the aid of militia for new enterprises, to diminish the levies on account of the provision. Under this description of our circumstances, (which is not high-coloured,) and when to it is added that, instead of getting lumber from Albany for building barracks on York Island, in the manner and for the purposes you mention, that we have neither money nor credit adequate to the purchase of a few boards for doors to our log huts; when every ounce of forage that has been used all the latter part of the campaign, and a good deal of the provision, has been taken at the point of the bayonet; when we were from the month of May to the month of September assembling militia that ought to have been in the field by the middle of July, and then obliged to dismiss them for want of supplies; when we cannot despatch an officer or a common express upon the most urgent occasion, for want of the means of support; and when I further add—but this is a matter of trivial concern, because it is of a present nature—that I have not been able to obtain a farthing of public money for the support of my table for near two months, you can be at no loss, as I have before observed, to discover the impracticability of executing the measure you suggested, even supposing the enemy's numbers were reduced to your standard, but which, by the way, neither is nor will be the case till the reduction of our army takes place, the period for which they know as well as we do, and will, I have little doubt, govern themselves accordingly. An earnest desire, however, of closing the campaign with eclat, led me to investigate the means most thoroughly of doing it; and my wishes had so far got the better of my judgment, that I had actually made some pretty considerable advances in the prosecution of a plan for the purpose, when, alas! I found the means inadequate to the end, and that it was with difficulty I could remove the army to its respective places of cantonment, where it would be well for the troops if, like chameleons, they could live upon air, or, like the bear, suck their paws for sustenance during the rigour of the approaching winter.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

volted line, pay, clothing, and provisions, free pardon, and an exemption from all compulsory services, and yet the offers were rejected, and the emissaries, who ventured to bring them, hanged.

On the news of the mutiny reaching Philadelphia, President Reed, General Potter, and a Committee of Congress, of which General Sullivan was chairman, and Dr. Witherspoon, a member, attended by the City Troop, set out for Trenton. Wayne, with Colonels Walter Stewart, and Richard Butler, were with the soldiers in a sort of voluntary durance. The only authority however recognised by the troops, was that of a self-constituted board of Sergeants, whose orders seem to have been implicitly obeyed. They advanced as far as Princeton, whence Wayne and his friends, painfully conscious of the danger and delicacy of their position, wrote to the President.

“We shall not attempt to express our feelings on this painful occasion. Your own will be the best criterion to judge them by. We have yet some glimmering of hope from the enclosed copy of a letter, giving intelligence of the enemy’s manœuvres, as the troops assure us they will act with desperation against them. Whether these be their sentiments or not, a few hours will probably determine. Be that as it may, and should the worst events take place, we trust we shall produce a conviction to the world that we deserved a better fate.”*

The rest of the painful narrative may best be given in President Reed’s letters, written at the time.

Bristol, 5th January, 1781.

I was met here by the light horse returning. As they brought me only a verbal message, Mr. Donaldson will be able to give it you with more exactness than I can at second hand. They left Princeton at 4 o’clock this afternoon; the mutineers seem undetermined, and I hope are beginning to di-

* This letter is published in *Hazard’s Register*, ii. p. 160, where will be found a nearly complete collection of all the documents relating to this revolt. The original papers are in the Philadelphia Library. From papers of this kind, already in print, I have generally contented myself with making extracts. Mr. Reed’s letters are republished entire.—See also *Bland Papers*, ii.

vide, as their board of officers or sergeants is large, and of course there will be a variety of sentiment. They behave well to the people of the country, and hitherto have committed no excesses. They permitted General St. Clair and the Marquis to come among them, but afterwards ordered them to leave the place at a short warning. They say they will march against the enemy under the command of General Wayne, Colonels Butler and Stewart, but will not have their other officers. This is a bad symptom. I met a sergeant and one or two others on the road, who gave out that they are going to town to prevent the bad report of their abusing people, &c. Colonel Nicola should be directed to have an eye on these fellows as they come into town, lest they infest the invalids, and spread bad reports among the militia, but by no means to use them ill, lest it have a bad effect on their fellows in Jersey.

If the enemy advance, I shall endeavour to draw them this way, rather choosing to take the chance of any bad consequences here than going to the enemy—if they take their officers back generally, I shall think they mean fairly. If they do not, I do not think their professions ought to be regarded. I send enclosed a letter from Mr. Stewart. I think it will be best to send provisions on, but not to unlade it out of the shallop without orders. In the mean time, let the clothing be forwarded, and the money prepared. At all events, I fear we must make some douceurs in some way or another. I write this in a hurry, and shall write again to-morrow, from Trenton. They altered their plans this morning. The sergeants use every effort to keep at Princeton by way of keeping together.

Trenton, April 6th.*

Neither time nor the limits of a letter will permit my entering into a particular detail of the intelligence received from Princeton. In substance it is that the mutineers, though acting by system, have divisions among themselves and such suspicions of each other as may soon lay a foundation of proper reconciliation. I am surprised to find that they entertained strong aversion to many of their former officers, and the tales they tell of severities, and unobserved promises, have had a great effect on the minds of the people of the State, so that a vigorous resistance by the militia is doubtful, at least till provoked by outrage on their property, or by the troops advancing to unreasonable propositions, which they seem likely to do. I beg leave to communicate, in a few words, my present idea, viz.—to hear their complaints, to promise redress to reasonable ones, to repel firmly, those of a contrary kind, unless the approach of the enemy should change the face of affairs, and to get the several different claimants to advance their separate claims by separate agents, as to clothing and what are the real necessities of a soldier. I shall engage liberally, because these they must have to do their duty—to

* To the Committee of Congress.

engage them to admit the old officers to take command, if possible, and to make no exceptions of pardon but to the murderers of the deceased officers. It is my present opinion, (but this I would not have influential on the Committee, contrary to their own judgment,) that the negotiation should be first tried on the part of the State, and if new or further concessions than I make are necessary, the Committee may have the opportunity to offer them, fully confiding in the wisdom and policy of the Committee on such an unhappy occasion, that they will not authorize bad examples on other lines, for I trust the liberties of America do not depend on the caprice of 1500 men of any State.

The enemy are not yet out—that circumstance will change the face of things exceedingly—especially as the troops occasionally turn their eyes to New York. I shall let the Committee know what is the result of the afternoon's conference. I mean to go within four miles of Princeton this afternoon, where I have written General Wayne to meet me, and to inform the troops that I am ready to hear any reasonable complaints decently offered. I shall direct my letters to Mr. Barclay, till I am otherwise requested.

Trenton, past 11 o'clock.*

The enclosed letter to the Committee of Congress, which was made unnecessary by their arrival at this place, will inform you of my proceeding till 12 o'clock.

I forwarded my letter to General Wayne, requesting him to meet me four miles from Princeton at 4 o'clock this afternoon, and also to let the troops know I should be there to receive any propositions from them, and redress any injuries they had sustained, but that after the indignities offered the Marquis and General St. Clair, I could not put myself in their power. The light horse who carried the letter were civilly treated by the Board of Sergeants, and permitted to deliver their letter to General Wayne, whom they soon after sent for, but he refused attending them, upon which they went to him, seemed affected by the letter, which was more calculated for them than for General Wayne. They requested it, and promised they would make the contents known to the men, but this they did not do, whether for want of time, (General Wayne having limited the return of it to him in half an hour,) or any other cause, is not known. However, the men heard of it, and expressed a desire to hear it; but the evening advancing, and General Wayne claiming a right to read it himself, it was agreed to meet early in the morning on the parade, and General Wayne to attend for that purpose. Everybody agrees there has been a great change to-day, and that they are more and more divided, which is natural, after a few days' enjoyment of new and unexpected power. They permitted the horsemen to return, and expressed great anxiety to know whether I entertained any unkind sentiments.

* To Mr. Barclay. *Hazard*, vol. ii. p. 165.

Some of the sergeants and men took pains to inform the gentlemen privately, that they were not fond of the business. In short, a number of favourable symptoms turned up, that I should have had great hopes, if unfortunately the enemy had not made a movement, of the effects and consequences of which I am now very doubtful. The enclosed papers will contain the whole of our intelligence on that subject, and it is indeed alarming; for the troops still profess a good disposition against the enemy; they utterly reject their former officers, except a very few; but propose to act under their sergeants as officers. There are no signs of British gold, or of British emissaries except a few sergeants, who have been imprudently raised from the ranks to that office. These fellows, doubtless, will do all the mischief they can, but a great majority are certainly well inclined to the country. I hope, by General Wayne's promise to meet me to-morrow, that he is at his own liberty, but he has met with some mortifying slights. This incursion of the enemy will induce me [to] get them down here, if possible, and the same reason will induce me to take them over the river, if there is the least prospect of the enemy advancing; as I consider then joining the enemy as a very, indeed, a most deplorable event, to be guarded against at the risk of every other consequence.* They behave remarkably well at their quarters, but either refuse admission to all their officers, or immediately dismiss them,

* The following anonymous letter has an indorsement in Mr. Reed's handwriting. "This letter is wrote by a person who generally has given good intelligence."

Elizabethtown, January 5, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I set out from this place yesterday about 11 o'clock, and proceeded immediately to New York, and arrived at that place about 5 o'clock P. M. I again left it about half after eleven o'clock at night. During my stay there, I took particular care to get the best intelligence I possibly could collect, both from my own observation and our friends. I never saw the British exert themselves so much in all my life. Notwithstanding the rain, which poured down like torrents, they did not slacken their proceedings—they were constantly employed in embarking on board vessels of about sixty or seventy tons burden, and smaller, on board of which there goes four or five thousand troops. Their destination is for Amboy. I think they will be there to-day or to-night. They are in great hopes that the Pennsylvania Line will join them, in consequence of which they will use every means in their power to get them to repair to their standard; they take with them twenty pieces of cannon, eighteen of which are heavy; fifty-four engineer's carpenters go with them.

I am, with great respect,

A STRANGER.

Col. Dayton.

P. S. I am almost tired to death, or I would set out again immediately—been two nights without sleep, and last night so wet that I had not a dry thread on me.

except General Wayne and the two Colonels, who do not know whether they are prisoners or not. As the time and circumstance did not admit my proceeding in the business this evening, I returned here, but shall go up in the morning either to get them to march hither, or to meet their complaints at some short distance from their guards, for it seems to be a universal opinion that it is not prudent for me to go within their camp, and my own concur, in the present situation of things, though they take it hard, I do not trust them. Everything necessary for the equipment of a soldier, that is, shirts, shoes, overalls, hats, &c., I shall promise liberally, and in the mean time, I beg you would collect, by some means or other. By the enclosed note, you will see they lay great stress upon it. I am told some of them are very shabby; for this purpose, I have sent down Mr. Turnbull. It is really a most pressing business at present, and must be attended to accordingly. To-morrow will be an important day, and if you do not hear from me by 8 o'clock Monday morning, you may conclude things are going right. If (as I doubt not) the enemy really land and advance, the militia must be called, unless a perverse spirit should appear, of which the officers will judge. If I cannot get these troops to go back, or propose terms, I shall, I believe, go round them, and try what effect joining the Jersey militia will have. After the Pennsylvania Line has brought the enemy into this State, it would be unpardonable in us not to do everything in our power for their protection.

You will please communicate to the President of Congress the whole or such parts of this letter as may be necessary. Having been on horseback all day, I flatter myself that my fatigue will be an excuse for not writing to him, and especially as it must be merely a repetition.

P. S. The Pennsylvania officers are assembled at Pennington, eight miles from this.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL WAYNE.

Trenton, January 7th.*

I received your favour of yesterday by Messrs M'Clenachan and Nesbitt, and finding from circumstances it was impracticable to see you last night, or any of the persons I expected, I returned to this place for the sake of accommodation. Upon considering our affairs, I have thought it advisable to get the troops to march to this place, as soon as circumstances will admit. My reasons are these:—First, The Commissioners inform me the provisions are nearly exhausted, and the men have hitherto behaved so well to the inhabitants, that it would be a pity to drive the troops to the necessity of distressing them, when at this place they may be otherwise supplied.

* *Hazard's Register*, p. 166.

Secondly, they will find this town more convenient to receive the clothing which is prepared in Philadelphia, and will come up by water. Thirdly, they will be nearer to Congress, to whom it may be necessary to apply in the course of the business, as the whole Continental army will be affected by the measures which may be taken, in consequence of this unhappy event. Fourthly, I am persuaded the Pennsylvania Line have the honour of the State too much at heart, to request their President to attend them, when convenience and propriety will make it better on all other accounts they should come here, and in this case I should be able to be nearer to them than at present.

I have received a letter from Mr. Bouzar, who signs as Secretary, but does not say to whom, but as it is probable you can convey my sentiments to him, I would wish you to inform him, and the persons with whom he acts in conjunction, that it is rather a regard to my own station which prevents my going into Princeton, than any distrust of them, either on the score of safety or good treatment. But as it is certain that however just their complaints may be, the power now assumed is in opposition to the authority of the country, it would, I fear, give offence to the people of the State if I should even pass their guards. To prevent any doubt on my part, I have only brought up a few of the Pennsylvania light-horse, to serve as expresses and for intelligence, but far be it from me, but in the last necessity, to ask their service against these our brethren, if they were a more effective force than they are. You know, my dear General, that I have ever been a soldier's friend, that I have used all my influence to procure them comforts of all kinds, and that they really have been more attended to than the troops of any other State, which I am sure they will acknowledge; if we have not done better, it is owing to a want of means. We hourly expect great supplies from Europe, which would make them easy on the score of clothing, and which I do not think they will ever want again. Though I must lament the unfortunate occasion, I shall with great pleasure hearken to well-founded complaints, and concur in any reasonable plan to accommodate matters to general satisfaction.

P. S. You will be so good as to communicate to the troops my desire that they would proceed to Trenton as soon as circumstances will admit.

PRESIDENT REED TO WAYNE.*

D. Hunt's, January 7th.

I received your letter last evening, giving our expectations of meeting you this day. But not hearing from you, I have sent again to know whether I may expect you, and when and whether any persons on the part of the

* This was not sent, as Wayne arrived.

troops will make known their complaints, which will most certainly be redressed on every reasonable point; and when any doubt arises, the construction to be in favour of the soldier. The proposals made by them on the 4th instant seem to form a reasonable ground of accommodation. The 4th article has been hastily drawn; their own experience will convince them of the necessity of some alteration. It will be necessary also, to distinguish those who have freely enlisted for the War, otherwise all contract is at an end, and where they are requesting an allowance for depreciation, agreeable to contract, they certainly will not vindicate a breach of contract. We will also agree upon some equitable mode of determining who are so enlisted, which may be done by three persons agreed for that purpose. But this will not exclude those from a gratuity proportioned to their services. They may depend upon every just and reasonable allowance, and I hope they have too much honour and spirit to tarnish their former good conduct, by asking unreasonable things, or those which are impracticable. Their honourable and patriotic conduct this morning will be ever remembered and suitably rewarded, if nothing unfavourable to their country should happen. Should they refuse to serve their country at this time, it will be an eternal reproach to the State to which they belong, and to which they have done so much honour by their bravery; and they must acknowledge that when they compare the conduct of the State to them with that of most other States, they have been better provided than others. Those who, after being discharged, choose to re-enlist, will be kindly received, but they will be at their liberty to do it or not. If they choose to engage again, they will be allowed furloughs to see their friends, when the circumstances of the army will admit. The arrear of pay, depreciation, clothing, &c., I mentioned in my former letter; these will be taken care of immediately. Should they take any rash steps after this, all the world will condemn them, and they will condemn themselves, for America will not be lost if they decline their assistance to save her.

On the morning of this day, two British Emissaries, of the name of James Ogden and John Mason, made their appearance in Camp, and were the bearers of an offer, such as has been already described, from the British Commander-in-chief. It was wrapt in a piece of tea-lead. They were instantly seized and delivered to Wayne, with a promise on his part that in the event of a failure of the pending negotiation, they were to be restored. It is to this that the President referred in his last letter.*

* A Court Martial was held on these men on the 10th, and on the 12th they were executed at the Cross Roads near Trenton.

On the 7th the President again writes, he having advanced within a few miles of the revolted troops.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

D. Hunt's, four miles from Princeton,
January 7th.

I have just time to inform you that the troops have rejected, with disdain, the proposition made by Sir Henry Clinton to join his army, that I came here this morning, and have had the pleasure of meeting General Wayne, Colonel Stewart, and Colonel Moylan, who have been permitted freely to come to me at this place, and make such a report of the temper of the men as induces me to go among them. They express great anxiety for it, and requested the gentlemen, in case I consented to come, to let them know, that they might turn out the line and show all possible respect. These circumstances have changed my resolution of not trusting them, but I think they will warrant the risk ; the consequences of their defection to the enemy are so great and alarming, that I think nothing ought to be left unattempted to improve a good disposition. I have but one life, and my country has the first claim for it. I therefore go with the cheerfulness which attends performing a necessary, though not a pleasant duty. With my best regards to the gentlemen of the Council, and respectful compliments to the President of Congress, with whom I doubt not you communicate.

P. S. I propose to come out of town again this evening.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.*

January 8th, halfpast two o'clock.

As you must have received my letter this morning, I need not repeat any of the transactions of yesterday. I have had no direct accounts from Princeton this morning, but, from the straggling soldiers and indirect intelligence, I understand that my proposal has been generally acceptable, only they think it is not quite explicit as to those who received one hundred and twenty dollars, which was a bounty given by Congress to those whose times were near expiring, and engaged again for the War. I understand they give up the twenty-dollar men ; and that it now seems agreed to march to Trenton to-morrow morning, if ordered, which I think will not be withheld under all the circumstances. I therefore hope that Mr. Nelson and Mr. Stewart will make preparation. They drew rations yesterday for 2000 men, but they have

* *Bland Papers*, vol. ii. p. 44.

not more than 1500; I doubt whether so many. A letter similar to the former, and wrapped up in sheet lead, was dropped this morning before the door where the sergeants met, which they delivered to General Wayne. They keep the spies of yesterday in close prison, but have not settled their fate. This opportunity offering, I thought it might be agreeable to the Committee to know the intelligence of the day; in the afternoon I shall doubtless hear officially. I have despatched three of the light-horse toward Amboy for intelligence. At present we have no accounts of the enemy of any kind, but the weather is very favourable to such a movement.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

8th January, 7 P. M.*

This evening I received the enclosed. The accounts from Princeton seem very vague and uncertain, but less favourable, as confusion in their claims, and want of all other order except military order, has taken place. From their conversation, there is little probability that they will agree to what their sergeants determine. I have written to General Wayne, confirming their proposals of last evening, but rejecting that now made, of the sergeants sitting with the commissioners. I have also, agreeably to your proposal, insisted upon the spies being delivered up. This I have mentioned as a requisition from you, not choosing to add or alter the terms I offered. I have also, in addition, directed them to march to Trenton tomorrow morning. If they do neither, we must, however disagreeable, use force; for which the country must be prepared, by showing that terms of a reasonable kind have been offered and refused. General Wayne has written to Congress, but I have directed the messenger to wait upon you. General Wayne's staying, in my opinion, is no longer of any benefit, but otherwise. He promised to come away this evening. What has prevented, I do not know; but they certainly take countenance and spirit from having him among them. I expect to have the honour of seeing the Committee tomorrow, at all events.

January 8, Maidenhead.

I returned from Princeton so late last evening, that it was out of my power to write as proposed, it being past midnight. I shall now inform you of the particulars of the day. Just before I set out from this yesterday a sergeant and four men came for the two spies. As Colonel Butler and General Wayne had given their word to redeliver them, I was not at liberty to refuse, and, more especially, as in the note they promised the men should

* *Bland Papers*, vol. ii. p. 45. There is some confusion in the dates of these letters, and it is not easy to determine whether Mr. Reed went into Princeton on the 8th or 9th.

be forthcoming at my order. Some gentlemen thought this so unfavourable a symptom, that it ought to change the plan, and prevent going in, but as I had sent them word I was coming, I did not choose to run the risk of disappointing them, and accordingly went into Princeton at 3 o'clock. The guards, which are regularly posted, turned out and saluted us. Near the College I found the whole line under arms, and the artillery ready to discharge; but this was prevented lest the country should be alarmed. We passed in the front, the sergeants having the places of their officers respectively, and saluting. I did not think it prudent to refuse them the usual attention, though much against my inclination. Soon after I dismounted, a number of the sergeants came, under a pretence of knowing when they should wait on us, but really, as we were informed, to ascertain my identity; for so amazingly suspicious were they, that nothing but some sergeants who had personal knowledge declaring their satisfaction, would convince a great number of the soldiery.

This ceremony being over, and an hour fixed to hear them, we got what intelligence we could of the inhabitants; but in a few minutes Sergeant Williams returned with several others, bringing the two spies, whom they had paraded through the lines. General Wayne and some others strongly urged them to execute them by their own authority, or that the board would request him to sign the warrant, but I was sorry to observe, especially in Williams, an aversion to this, and a strong desire to discharge them, with a taunting message, to Sir Harry Clinton. Finding General Wayne not likely to succeed, I proposed a middle way, viz., to keep them under close guard till we should consider farther; and claimed their promise of subjecting them to my order. They took them away undetermined; and there were great debates at the board—the result of which was, that my advice should take place, and they were, accordingly, put under guard till farther orders. The sergeants in this, as in most other cases, are, like the men, much divided in sentiment; some proposing one thing, and some another, and agreeing only in those points of common interest, arising from their danger—such as keeping in a body, and being regular and chaste in their conduct. Some of the sergeants utterly disapproved the executing them, as it would cut off all benefit of that influence which might be used to advantage in making terms; some were more open on that subject. I fear they will dismiss them to-day, or connive at their escape, though we have taken such measures as I trust will hasten their journey to a different place than New York. In the evening they came, and presented me the single proposition enclosed; after which a long conference ensued, in which some of the sergeants spoke with a degree of intelligence and good sense that really surprised me, and stated some real hardships they have suffered, which I fear have too much foundation. I cannot but think some undue methods have been taken to engage many in the service. I therefore took up that ground of justice which appeared most likely to serve the country, and conciliate them, viz., that all those whose times were expired, and who had not

freely entered again, knowing the duration of the service, should be discharged; holding firm the principle, that where a man has taken a bounty for the War freely and voluntarily, he ought not to be discharged. This occasioned much debate, one of the sergeants arguing, with no small speciousness, that there was at that time, viz. (1776 and 1777) no resolve of Congress to enlist during the War; but an idea of temporary enlistments, which so generally prevailed that they ought not to be held to the letter of their enlistments, but to the spirit and general prevailing idea of Congress and the country. After some time we brought them to acknowledge that the principle contended for by the twenty-dollar men was not just, but they expressed much doubt of convincing the men. Finding the evening to pass away rapidly, and unwilling to part without some plan, I wrote the enclosed. If it does not take effect, I fear we shall be obliged, on some principle, or perhaps no principle, to dismiss them, but I shall endeavour to have this done at Trenton. I am glad to find so little reason to think that they have prejudices with respect to Congress; their prejudices are most certainly against their officers, and they look to Congress and the State for redress and help. There is therefore no occasion for the Committee to take any other quarters than are convenient and suitable to their rank, as I should not advise trusting themselves within a guard of mutincers. I would wish the same of the Committee, on the discharging the twenty-dollar men voluntarily enlisted; this will affect all other soldiers and future enlistments. Upon the whole, I think the terms I have offered reasonable; if they are refused, or if the men refuse to march to Trenton, it must be evident that they do not mean sincerely, and I should hope the militia of Jersey might be brought to act against them. If a Proclamation, in the name of Congress or the State, reciting the terms offered, was drawn up, and a number printed, we might dispose them among the men, as we have reason to think the sergeants do not always communicate freely. Williams is either very ignorant and illiterate, or was drunk yesterday, as he showed no talents to conduct such an enterprise. The Proclamation might contain some seasonable advice, and I think a little spirit would do no harm. If they offer to move Eastward, I shall throw myself between them and the enemy with what force can be mustered.

January 9th.

I wrote you last evening by Mr. Dewees, informing you of the proposals made by the sergeants, and my orders to the troops to march to Trenton this morning, being resolved to open no further negotiation, but to take steps of a contrary kind, in which I am of opinion we had a good chance of success. But on my letter going in to General Wayne, orders were given to march this morning, and having also communicated the requisition of the honourable Committee, respecting the spies, there seemed to be a better disposition on that head. I am in momentary expectations of hearing that they are set out, and hope the commissaries and quartermasters will be prepared.

Quarters must be provided for at least 1500 men, though I will endeavour to detach 1000 at least to Bordentown and Burlington to-morrow. At Trenton, I expect they will receive their officers; and that is my greatest concern at present, as they appear so deeply to resent the conduct of the troops to them personally. Had General Wayne not given a promise of general pardon the 2d January, and confirmed it on the 7th, I should have excepted the men who insulted their officers, if they could have been discovered. I was somewhat apprehensive that the delivering up the spies, being an annexed condition to the pardon, would have involved some difficulties, but I now rather think it had a good effect.

I beg leave to offer it as my opinion that for the sake of conveniency, as well as dignity, the Committee retire a little distance from them, until the officers have taken their places, and order is restored; for they are so ignorant and capricious, that I would not be within their guards myself for any time, lest some wicked rascals, of whom they have too many, should suggest mischief. Besides that, I fear they will presume upon finding themselves treated with by Congress, of whom, at present, notwithstanding what has been said, I think they entertain respectful ideas.

I apprehend that the Committee have, in their first resolve, mistaken the bounty — — — for a bounty of 120 dollars. I beg leave to explain that matter as I understand it. Congress, with a view of conciliating those soldiers who had served for some time, (being enlisted for — — —) ordered 100 dollars to be given them, under that description. The officers took the opportunity to turn it into a bounty for enlisting, and induced many who had enlisted for three years or during the war, to take the money and sign a receipt, expressing they had taken that as a bounty to enlist for the war; some refused to take it, alleging, that as they were not engaged for the war they were not entitled to it. And I fear upon inquiry, it will be found that the officers, by rigorous methods, forced them into the acceptance; or at least that they did so in many instances. As there was a doubt in the case, I thought it better to resolve this point in the soldiers' favour, and consider it as gratuity, rather losing some money than dispute a doubtful matter. Then came the 120 dollars which was a bounty for re-enlistment, so understood, and freely taken by many; perhaps there might be compulsion as to some, but I believe not many. I wait here for intelligence of their movement.

P. S. I have no account yet from the messengers sent to South Amboy. Ten o'clock. I am just informed that the troops have paraded, and are set out.

The terms finally agreed upon were that no soldier was to be retained in service for a longer period than that for which he had voluntarily enlisted. When the terms of enlistment were in the alternative, three years or the war, they were to be understood as for three years, the arrearages of pay were to be set-

bled, and the depreciation ascertained, and clothes were to be supplied. All matters of difference as to the terms themselves were to be determined by a board of three persons to be chosen by Congress.*

One other incident in this affair should not be omitted. General Wayne had promised the two sergeants a reward of fifty guineas for arresting and surrendering the British spies, and on the final adjustment of the difficulty, President Reed declared his willingness to comply with this promise. The sergeants were sent for, and the money offered to them. They declined accepting it, on the ground that in what they had done, they acted only by the orders of the Board of Sergeants. The hundred guineas were then offered to the Board, who returned this remarkable answer:—

“Agreeable to the information of two sergeants of our Board, who waited on your Excellency, that in consideration of the two spies, they informed the remainder of the Board that your Excellency has been pleased to offer a sum of gold as a compensation for our fidelity; but as it has not been for the sake, or through any expectation of receiving a reward, but for the zeal and love of our country, that we sent them immediately to General Wayne, we, therefore, do not consider ourselves entitled to any other reward but the love of our country, and do jointly agree that we shall accept of no other.”

No one will now question that the arrangement actually made, though it led to the dissolution, in great measure, of the line, was the best that the circumstances admitted. Owing to the energy and practical discretion of the authorities, no part of the discredit rested on them, which two years later fell on Congress and the State Executive when they fled, almost in panic from Philadelphia, before a mere handful of revolted soldiers. Yet it is equally certain that this salutary pacifica-

* Mr. Sparks, in his note to *Washington*, vii. 359, has stated that there was a stipulation that three Commissioners, named by the troops, were also to act. This is an error. Such a proposition was made and peremptorily rejected. The actual terms will be found in *Hazard's Register*, ii. 138, and the President's letter, refusing to permit the appointment by the mutineers, at p. 189. Marshall seems to have fallen into the same mistake.

tion in which, at the time, all concurred, was subsequently made the subject of unpleasant criticism. The mind of General Washington seems to have been in some degree poisoned, and there are phrases in some of his letters, written several weeks later, that indicate very clearly his regret at what was done. Traces of this and the effect on Mr. Reed will be found in the private correspondence. Yet at the time, when under a strong sense of the embarrassments which prevented him from making the least movement, he thought very differently. Writing to Governor Weare of New Hampshire as late as the 22d January, Washington said:

“The weakness of this garrison, but still more its embarrassing distress for want of provisions, made it impossible to prosecute such measures with the Pennsylvanians, as the nature of the case demanded; and while we were making arrangements, as far as practicable, to supply these defects, an accommodation took place, which will not only subvert the Pennsylvania line, but have a very pernicious influence on the whole army. I mean, however, by these remarks only to give an idea of the miserable situation we are in, and not to blame a measure which perhaps in our circumstances was the best that could have been adopted. The same embarrassments operate against coercion at this moment, but not in so great a degree; the Jersey troops not being, from their numbers, so formidable as were the Pennsylvanians.”*

It is most probable that the mode of carrying into effect the arrangement, and the necessity of taking the oath of the soldiers as the evidence of the terms of enlistment, were more objectionable than the arrangement itself. The danger of the times, the extreme risk which the authorities ran, and the necessity of immediate compromise, are clearly shown in Sir Henry Clinton's confidential letter to his government. To the last, even after his spies were arrested, he seems to have hoped that the mutineers might be tempted to march towards Staten Island where he was in full force ready to receive and protect them.† Party feeling, which never seems to have en-

* Sparks' Washington, vol. vii. 382.

† Almon's Remembrancer, vol. xi. p. 148.

tirely slumbered, was virulently active at a crisis like this. The President had to deal not only with armed mutineers at Trenton, but with discontent in its most vexatious form in Philadelphia.

During his absence, the Vice-President, Mr. Moore, and the Council, anxious to do their share of duty in composing this dangerous excitement, set on foot a subscription loan, hoping to raise by voluntary contribution, 15 or 20,000*l.* in specie or its equivalent, to meet the immediate exigency. They wrote to the President they had done so, and he pledged his word as we have seen, to the troops, to secure them the necessary supplies. To their great mortification, but 1400*l.* was subscribed. Justly indignant at this, and determined even by the resort to extreme measures, to meet public expectation, Mr. Reed on his return issued the following brief proclamation.

PROCLAMATION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Philadelphia, January 15, 1781.

The President of the State informs the merchants and other citizens of Philadelphia, that though the unhappy discontents which prevailed in the Pennsylvania line, which have had such melancholy consequences, are now in the way of accommodation, the apprehensions of intercourse with the enemy extinguished, and their proceeding to the City in a body with their arms prevented, yet this has been done in consequence of solemn promises entered into on the part of the State, and in which the personal honour of its first officer is deeply engaged. The troops have had no pay for twelve months; there are many of them destitute of clothing; the officers are in a situation equally deplorable, destitute of money, many without shoes or decent linen. The treasury is exhausted, the civil officers of government, after having devoted their time to its service, are content to be postponed, and submit to the inconveniences of being without money. If, under these circumstances, those who are reaping the benefit of a protecting army and the security of civil government, and pursuing their own interest, will not assist the public with only a small portion of their stock on this emergency, they must expect, and can only blame themselves for the consequences. The President, after seeing the inconsiderable subscription made in his absence, thinks it his duty, however unpleasant, to state these facts, and to entreat his fellow-citizens to bestow some attention to the public exigencies at this critical time, and if this address does not suc-

ceed, a general and total suspension of all foreign trade will be recommended by the Supreme Executive Council, until affairs take a more favourable turn.*

This seems to have produced some effect, but new attacks were made by the party press on Mr. Reed, for this stretch of Executive authority, and deeply wounded at what had been said and done, he thought it right to suspend the subscription, and rely for aid alone on the constituted authorities. His old and faithful friend General Armstrong thus expressed hearty sympathy with his vexations.

ARMSTRONG TO PRESIDENT REED.

Carlisle, 5th Feb., 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Induced by so natural an opportunity as the present by Mr. Duncan, I am led to express my sympathy with your Excellency in the various public perplexing scenes which have lately fallen to your lot. That of our soldiery, humiliating as it is, has received a decision, with which few are fully pleased, and as few pretend to complain, not being able to point out a better way, I pretend not to say what the consequence may be, farther than that it will undoubtedly increase the public debt, is in itself a bad omen, and matter of the greatest mortification we have yet received; how long this revolt has been a brewing, and what the leading sources of it may have been is best known to themselves, but I have my fears that some kind of remissness in discipline or other imprudence in the officers may have happened; that our officers are faithful and assiduous too in what they consider as the chief ingredients of their calling, I have no doubt; but the duty as well in prudentials as in morals, is more extensive than young soldiers generally imagine; to give but one instance, and would to God we had it not to give, if fame may be believed, the most audacious kind of profane swearing is said to have obtained amongst the privates of our line, even in an unequalled degree. If this is true, does it not but too strongly confirm the apprehension above.

We hear that the Supreme Council have stopped the port of Philadelphia

* The Committee of the Council of Censors in 1783 censured this non-exportation order as a violent outrage committed on the commerce of this State, and a dangerous violation of the constitution.—*Journals*, p. 166.

It was an easy thing when the war was over, to criticise the acts which its exigencies required.

—this moment your Excellency's representation of the 15th ult. on that matter is handed to me, which is satisfactory on the point, and I see I have not guessed amiss on your personal difficulties, although one-half of them has not reached this place. Patience is a virtue as much at this time as ever. If the wealthy citizens would yet offer a voluntary and adequate loan, will it not be best to accept it? I am sorry that any of the officers and soldiers have so much cause of complaint, and knew before that we were their debtors, but have no need to retract the idea above, this being only a confidential line of sympathy and regret. The conduct of Virginia in suffering the enemy's ravages a second time with total impunity, must bear very hard on the honour of the Dominion. This is indeed a time for divine interposition; may it be granted in our favour.*

I wrote you a line or two when you probably were out of town, but of a private nature. Col. Davis, the bearer, is not yet returned. At the desire of General Gates, Major Armstrong is gone up to visit him; by the letter it appears that he and Mrs. Gates are in a very disconsolate situation.† General Greene, left at Charlotte in the command, arrived at that post on the 2d of December.

The new State money passes readily here; but tradesmen and shopkeepers are depreciating it every day: nor will they part with any of their wares or manufactures for less than one-fourth more than we know they would take in hard money if laid down, and tell us it is the case in Philadelphia.

I am, sir, with perfect respect,

Your Excellency's

Most humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

On the 2d June following, the secret and malignant murmurs not having subsided, Mr. Reed sent to the Assembly the following Message.‡

MESSAGE TO ASSEMBLY.

Philadelphia, June 2d, 1781.

It is with great concern that I find myself under the necessity of recalling the attention of the Honourable House to a subject which I hoped would have been buried in oblivion. I mean the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line last winter. Seeking no praise, but, as I conceive, deserving no censure for the transaction, as conducted by General Potter and myself, I find pre-

* This passage refers to Arnold's incursion in Virginia.

† Gates had just lost his only son, Robert Gates.

‡ Journal of Assembly, p. 657.

judices diffused, injurious not only to our public characters, but to the interest and credit of the government. I am therefore to request the House would be pleased to re-appoint a committee of inquiry, upon whose report the sense of the Legislature may be publicly declared. If it shall appear that the welfare of the State, the rights of the officers, or the more general interests of America have been wantonly or ignorantly sacrificed, we are content, and it will be the duty of the House to affix a mark of disapprobation upon our measures; if otherwise, justice and candour will, we trust, equally lead to justify and approve.

As some gentlemen, whose presence may be necessary, are about leaving town on public duty, I must beg the favour of the House to expedite the execution of my request, if it meets with approbation.

I am, sir, with great respect and regard,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

JOSEPH REED.

The Honourable Frederick A. Muhlenberg, Esq.,
Speaker of the General Assembly.

The majority of the House, it will be recollected, was in opposition, and the Committee to which the Message was referred had the same complexion. Mr. Morris was chairman, and General Mifflin a member. On the 11th the Committee made a report, which was agreed to without dissent.

“The Committee to which the letter from his Excellency the President of the State of the 2d instant was referred, beg leave to report :

“That all the members of the Committee, except Mr. Galbraith, were members of a Committee appointed by the House at their last sitting, to examine into the causes and consequent transactions of the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line of the Army of the United States; upon which they reported, among other things, (as appears by the minutes of the House,) that all the engagements or promises made by his Excellency the President of this State and General Potter, ought to be fulfilled as soon as possible, and that the House should take the most effectual means to enable a compliance therewith; that Committee being perfectly satisfied that his Excellency and General Potter had conducted the business, so far as they were concerned, with zeal and attention to their country; and that General Wayne, Colonel Butler, and Colonel Stewart, actuated by the same zeal and attachment, had also done everything in their power to bring the soldiery back to their duty.

“Your present Committee, agreeably to the request of his Excellency, having gone into the consideration of these matters in consequence of reports that have been spread through the country to his disadvantage, and having heard several gentlemen on the subject, who were witnesses to the

whole or greatest part of these transactions, are now of opinion that his Excellency the President of this State and General Potter did proceed upon the business aforesaid by appointment of the Honourable the Supreme Executive Council, and also at the desire and special request of General Wayne, Colonel Butler, and Colonel Stewart, as appears by their letter, dated Princeton, January 4, 1781. That they were likewise empowered so to do by Congress, and that their measures were acquiesced in by a Committee of Congress, sent there for the like purpose; and, finally, it is the opinion of this Committee that his Excellency the President of this State and General Potter did render on that occasion every service to their country that circumstances and the nature of the transaction would admit of."

In April of this year, Mr. Reed received from Governor Livingston the following admonitory letter.

GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON TO PRESIDENT REED.

Trenton, April 11th, 1781.

I was told a few days ago by a man who had made his escape from New York, after having been thirteen months a prisoner with the enemy, that I might depend upon it there were four parties out to *take* or *assassinate* General Washington, your Excellency, me, and a fourth person, whose name he did not hear or had forgot. As I frequently receive accounts of this kind of expedition against myself, which sometimes prove true and sometimes otherwise, I paid no great attention to the man's report. But I yesterday received a letter from General Washington, dated the 8th instant, in which there is this paragraph:—"Intelligence has been sent me by a gentleman living near the enemy's lines, and who has an opportunity of knowing what passes among them, that four parties had been sent out with orders to *take* or *assassinate* your Excellency, Governor Clinton, me, and a fourth person, name not known."*

It seems, therefore, highly probable that the gentleman, whose name my informant did not remember, was Governor Clinton, and the gentleman whose name was not transmitted to General Washington, is your Excellency.

This confirmation of my intelligence gives the matter so serious an aspect that I think it my duty to advise your Excellency of what has come to my knowledge, that you may take such precautions on the occasion as appear to you necessary. I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem,

Dear Sir, your Excellency's most humble, &c.

W. LIVINGSTON.

* *Sparks' Washington*, vii. 471.

There is no trace of the danger alluded to in any other part of the correspondence, and, while it is fair to presume that no such bloody scheme was authorized by the British Commander-in-chief, yet there was, no doubt, more than one desperate enterprise against the American leaders, concerted by unscrupulous subordinates of all ranks. Livingston and Reed were especially obnoxious.* They were known as Executive officers of energy and activity, conducting public affairs in States contiguous to the scene of military action, and while Livingston was more than once driven from his home by the hand of the armed incendiary, it was within the scope of reasonable calculation that the secret assassin might reach Mr. Reed. The death of either at such a juncture would have been a severe blow to the American cause. Of William Livingston it may be incidentally observed that the Revolution did not produce a truer, sturdier patriot, one who went to greater extremities in his practical detestation of the oppressive conduct of Great Britain, and in active sympathy with his injured countrymen. There was no compromise—no half-way action in New Jersey's Revolutionary Governor.†

* From Philadelphia Paper, 14th Nov. 1781.

“ Philadelphia, November 14th, '81.

“ On Thursday morning last, Laurence Marr and John Moody, both of Colonel Burton's Tory regiment, were apprehended in this city, on suspicion of being spies. On the two following days, they were indulged with a candid and full hearing, before a respectable board of officers, whereof the Honourable Major-General the Marquis de la Fayette was President. It appeared their business was to steal and carry off the secret Journals of Congress, and other papers, to New York. They have made several interesting discoveries of many persons in these States, who are doing their utmost to ruin their country. The names of these ingrates will appear in proper time. The Board of officers having reported to the Honourable Board of War, their opinion was approved, and Marr and Moody were both sentenced to die; which sentence was executed on Moody yesterday between the hours of 11 and 12. Marr is respited until Friday, the 23d inst. From Saturday evening until yesterday, the criminals were both attended by a gentleman of the clerical order, who gives us ground to hope they were real penitents, as from the beginning of their confinement they manifested the greatest contrition for all their sins, political and moral. The enemy, who at this period seem equal to no exploits superior to robbing mails and stealing papers, may thank the monster, Benedict Arnold, their beloved friend, for the untimely death of this young man, who was only in his twenty-third year.”

† Theodore Sedgwick's Memoir of William Livingston, published in 1833, contains an excellent review of his distinguished life.

CHAPTER XV.

1781.

Greene and Henry Lee—Greene's character—His Letter, 19th September, 1780—Takes command of the Southern Army—Letter 9th January, 1781—Difficulties of his position—Wants of the Army—Henry Lee's Letter to Mr. Reed—Lord Cornwallis's Military Operations—Advantage of Regular Troops—Greene's Letter of 18th March—Retreat to North Carolina—Returns to South Carolina—Battle of Guilford Court-House—Letter from Camden, May 4th—State of Affairs in the South—Wayne goes South—Mr. Reed's Letter on Public Affairs, June, 1781—Plan of Military Operations—Grayson's Letters—Proposed History of the Revolution—Greene's Letter from High Hills—Battle of Camden—Washington advances to Virginia—Wayne's Letters—Surrender of Cornwallis—Action of Pennsylvania Executive.

THE two individuals to whom Mr. Reed was most sincerely attached, and the constancy of whose friendship, through every vicissitude, never faltered, were Greene and Henry Lee. They were about this time, the beginning of 1781, transferred to a distant station, and Greene, taking command of the Southern Army, inspired it at once with his own spirit, and began that brilliant series of military operations which so largely contributed to the successful termination of the War.

To General Greene's peculiar merits, History has scarcely yet done justice, and it may be pardoned in the biographer of one who knew and loved him well, incidentally to pay some part of the tribute which has been thus delayed. Ponderous biographies and popular memoirs have been written, and yet, in his actual relations to the American cause, he has not had the discriminating praise, which far outweighs all formal panegyric.* Had Mr. Reed's life been prolonged, it was his intention to write Greene's Life. Portions of an incomplete sketch are now in my possession. No one knew him

* The best biography of Greene is that by his grandson, published in Sparks' American Biography.

better, or had higher qualifications for such a work. They were thrown in constant association, in confidential and familiar correspondence, and in every relation which leads to just estimate of character and fair appreciation of merit. They had other sympathies. They were Washington's first and truest friends. It was, as we have seen, a subject of reproach to Washington that Greene and Reed were among his acknowledged favourites.* They were, at the same moment, the objects of obloquy, and rising superior to the malignant aspersions that were cast on them, had with each other the sympathy of mutual triumph. Greene, as Quartermaster-General, and Reed, as President of Pennsylvania, were high targets, for the duties of each post were those which involved all kinds of delicate and painful responsibility. The more thoroughly and scrupulously these duties were discharged, the greater the exposure to censure.

It was not till the close of the War that Greene was promoted to a separate command. From the time he joined the army at Cambridge till his appointment to succeed Gates in the Carolinas, he was all the time a mere General of Division near the Commander-in-chief. But in this relatively subordinate position, his duty was exactly and unobtrusively performed—what he had to do, he did well, and whilst within the sphere of his functions, everything was complete, there was none of that exorbitance or restlessness of action which characterized others in the same rank. He had no plans of his own to be carried out apart from the general operations of a campaign. He seemed to have no wish to make a separate fame for himself. The reputation he sought was that of doing a precise duty well. No one suspected him of schemes to supplant Washington; no one heard from his lips a whisper in derogation of Washington's true merit. All such machinations were left to Gates and Conway and Lee, the adventurers who came from abroad to fight for themselves quite as much as for us. Greene was thoroughly an American man, with all the strong, manly sense which marks his immediate countrymen, and yet with no tinge of offensive local peculiarity.

* Vol. i. p. 343.

Unaccomplished and unskilled in the science of war, he was competent, as was proved, by the power of his own genius, to thwart the plans of the most complete soldiers, for such were Cornwallis and Rawdon, whom Great Britain sent to execute her plans of subjugation. Whenever, I repeat, Greene had a specific duty to perform, he did it thoroughly. Such was the case especially at Brandywine, where the severest fighting occurred between Cornwallis's triumphant troops, and Greene's reserve, near Dilworth, and at Germantown, where the left wing, under his immediate command, nearly broke the British line at the Market House. His administration of the Commissariat, when carefully studied, will add much to his substantial fame,—quite as much, in the view of the discriminating student, as the more showy incidents of his life, for here it was, that in the vexatious detail of supplies, and general provision for the army, greater and more practical ability was requisite. To furnish an army in a country of agricultural or commercial resources, where adequate pecuniary means are at command, and where it requires mere fighting, the dispersion of enemies in the field, or the capture of towns is very different, and far easier than to maintain a defensive army in a country whose agriculture has been laid waste, whose commerce is destroyed, and whose currency is utterly worthless. Such was the duty which Greene discharged not only amidst popular discontent, but the more unnatural clamours of Congress and those mercenary factions, which throughout the Revolution, were busy in impeding every step which the decisive patriots had to take. He resigned this duty only when it was apparent that such influences were combined against him as insured discredit and ignominy to his future career.

When removed to an independent command in the Southern country, Greene at once asserted his claim to the unhesitating honours of a grateful country, and the correspondence presently to be resumed will show through what difficulties and embarrassments he fought his way, and how resolutely he overcame them all. To Mr. Reed he wrote in the confidence of the most unrestrained and unsuspecting friendship, and in what he writes either to his confidential friends or to his official superiors, no

one can fail being struck with the simple and manly style in which he expresses himself — the homely, plain English, that best of idioms for manly thought, telling his story in the most direct form, without a superfluous word or attempt to adorn the simple and stern realities which he described.* General Greene's despatches from South Carolina during the campaign of 1781 are worthy of the same praise, which, by common consent, at the moment that I am now writing, is bestowed on the public and private letters from the conqueror of Monterey and Buena Vista. The curious inquirer may find a further and closer parallel between these gallant men, the soldiers of America's unpretending chivalry, in the embarrassments which perplexed their military career, and in the honours won at a comparatively late period of their professional lives. One might have pined away unknown, and uncared for, in some distant frontier garrison, with no higher function than to watch transplanted Indians, but for the accidental necessity or motives of policy which led to his appointment to the Mexican frontier, and Greene would have been comparatively unknown to fame, but for his promotion, in the last year of the Revolution, to the command in the Carolinas. Such are the accidents that lead to the development and illustration of genius.

On the 19th September, 1780, Greene, on hearing of the disaster at Camden, and before the idea of his succeeding Gates in the command appears to have occurred to any one, thus wrote to Mr. Reed.

GREENE TO REED.

Camp, September 19th, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have only time by Captain Walker, to inform you that the Commander-in-chief is gone to Hartford to meet Count de Rochambeau and Admiral Ternay. This meeting was at the request of the French officers, to fix

* I may be allowed to express the hope that at no distant day General Greene's Despatches and General Correspondence, will be collected and edited with the same diligence and good taste as has been bestowed on that of Washington. Collections of original letters are the best contributions to history.

upon some future plan of operations. Whatever may be their or our wishes, I am afraid we have neither men nor provisions to attempt any offensive operations. Admiral Rodney is arrived at New York, with ten sail of the line, and a report prevails that another division is to follow of equal strength. This confirms the reports respecting Count de Guichen coming upon the coast, as it is not probable that Rodney would leave such a naval force behind as the combined fleets would form. Reports from New York say that Rodney is going to join Arbuthnot, and that an attack is intended upon the fleet and army at Newport. I think this is possible, but not probable. Preparations for a considerable embarkation have been making for some time in New York. The destination of the troops is unknown, but from a combination of circumstances, I am led to believe they are going to Virginia. The refugees of that country being invited to engage in it.

What measures are taking with respect to our southern affairs? The plan of calling out great bodies of militia must be destructive in the end. The resources of the country cannot support it; and though at first it may afford a seeming security, yet it in time will really weaken the opposition by wasting the strength of the country to little purpose. What is wanting in that quarter is a good regular army, not large, but yet sufficiently strong to confine the enemy from overrunning the country. To attempt the expulsion of the enemy out of the Southern States before we have a Navy to aid our operations, will be a folly, and end in disgrace and disappointment. The General that commands there ought to act altogether upon the defensive. This plan will not be agreeable to the inhabitants of that country, who are impatient under their sufferings, and are anxious to make every exertion to recover the Southern States; but the more we waste our strength in such a fruitless attempt, the less we shall be able to give protection to the rest of the Southern States not yet in the enemy's power.

General Gates's late misfortune will sink his consequence, and lessen his military character. He is bandied about and subjected to many remarks; the common fate of the unfortunate. Whether he has been to blame or not, I cannot pretend to judge; and shall leave those who were nearer at hand, to fix the public opinion.

Captain Walker is impatient to go, therefore I must close. I send you a New York paper containing the news of Admiral Rodney's arrival.

Doctor Shields informs me that the enemies to Government with you, propagate a report that your calling out the Militia in the manner you did, was a wanton display of power, and without the request of the Commander-in-chief. I am in hopes the General has written you on the subject, and put it in your power to contradict the reports, and bring shame and confusion upon your enemies.

I beg my compliments to Mrs. Reed,

And am, with respect and regard,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

N. GREENE.

The following correspondence after Greene took command in the South,—letters written from the seat of war, and amidst most intense anxiety, as well as in the closest and most unre-served confidence,—is now for the first time published. It tells the history of the Campaign from the beginning.

GREENE TO REED.

Camp on the Pedee, January 9th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I intended to have written you before, but I have been so employed since I left Philadelphia, that I have been obliged to deny myself the pleasure of writing to my friends, to attend to the more immediate duties of my department. On my journey I visited the Maryland and Virginia Assemblies, and laid before them the state of this army, and urged the necessity of an immediate support. They both promised to do everything in their power, but such was their poverty, even in their Capitals, that they could not furnish forage for my horses. I have also written to the States of Delaware and North Carolina, neither of which have taken any measures yet for giving effectual aid to this army. I left General Gist in Maryland, and Baron Stenben in Virginia, to forward the recruits and supplies. Measures are taking in Virginia which promise us some aid, though very trifling to what they ought to give, and what our state requires. All the way through the country, as I passed, I found the people engaged in matters of interest and in pursuit of pleasure, almost regardless of their danger. Public credit totally lost, and every man excusing himself from giving the least aid to Government, from an apprehension that they would get no return for any advances. This afforded but a dull prospect, nor has it mended since my arrival.

I overtook the army at Charlotte, to which place General Gates had advanced. The appearance of the troops was wretched beyond description, and their distress, on account of provisions, was little less than their sufferings for want of clothing and other necessaries. General Gates had lost the confidence of the officers, and the troops all their discipline, and so addicted to plundering, that they were a terror to the inhabitants. The General and I met upon very good terms, and parted so. The old gentleman was in great distress, having but just heard of the death of his son before my arrival.

The battle of Camden is spoken of very differently here to what it is to the Northward, and as for a regular retreat, there was none; every man got off the ground in the best manner he could. This is the account Colonel Williams gives, who was one of the last on the field. Indeed, the whole business was a short fight and then a perfect flight, and the greatest loss happened after the troops broke, and attempted to make their escape. From all I can

learn, if General Gates had stopped at Charlotte, little more disgrace would have fallen to his share than is common to the unfortunate. Generals Gates and Smallwood were not upon good terms; the former suspected the latter of having an intention to supplant him. Some think General Gates's suspicions were groundless, and had no other foundation but the General's own imagination. Others are of opinion that they were well founded, and that my appointment was a great disappointment as well as mortification to Smallwood. How the matter was I know not. The General (Smallwood) is gone to the Northward, having declared, for reasons, that he could not think of submitting to the command of Baron Steuben, and that if justice was done him and the State, his commission would be dated at least two years earlier than his appointment. I expostulated with him upon the impossibility of the thing, let his private merit be ever so great, but it was all to no purpose. He was fixed in the principle, and determined upon the measure. He has many enemies in the Maryland line, but upon the whole I think him a sensible man and a good officer.

The wants of this army are so numerous and various, that the shortest way of telling you is to inform you that we have nothing, as General Du Portail can inform you from his own observation. The great departments of the army had nobody at the head of them, fit to provide in a country like this for a sergeant's party. I have got Colonel Carrington to accept of the Quartermaster-General's department, and am in hopes of getting a good man at the head of the Commissaries, without which I foresee we must starve. I am endeavouring to bring everything into order, and perfect our arrangements as much as possible, but it is all an up-hill business.

The loss of our army in Charleston, and the defeat of General Gates has been the cause of keeping such vast shoals of militia on foot, who, like the locusts of Egypt, have eaten up everything, and the expense has been so enormous, that it has ruined the currency of the State. It is my opinion there is no one thing upon the Continent that wants regulating so much, as the right which the States exercise of keeping what militia on foot they please at the Continental expense. I am persuaded North Carolina has militia enough to swallow up all the revenues of America, especially under their imperfect arrangements, where every man draws and wastes as much as he pleases. The country is so extensive and the powers of Government so weak, that everybody does as he pleases. The inhabitants are much divided in their political sentiments, and the Whigs and Tories pursue each other with little less than savage fury. The back-country people are bold and daring in their make, but the people upon the sea-shore are sickly and but indifferent militia. The ruin of the State is inevitable if there are such large bodies of militia kept on foot. No army can subsist in the country long if the ravages continue. Indeed, unless this army is better supported than I see any prospect of, the Country is lost beyond redemption, for it is impossible for the people to struggle much longer under their present difficulties. There appears a foolish pride in the representation of things from

this quarter; the strength and resources of the Country are far overrated, and those who are engaged in this business, to indulge their pride, will sacrifice their Country. The inhabitants are beginning to move off in great bodies, and unless a firmer barrier can be formed, this quarter will be all depopulated. We are living upon charity, and subsist by daily collections. Indian meal and beef is our common diet, and not a drop of spirits have we had with us since I came to the army. An army naked and subsisted in this manner, and not more than one-third equal to the enemy in numbers, will make but a poor fight, especially as one has been accustomed to victory and the other to flight. It is difficult to give spirits to troops that have nothing to animate them.

I have been obliged to take an entire new position with the army. General Morgan is upon Broad River with a little flying army, and Colonel Washington since his arrival there has defeated a party of Tories, the particulars of which I beg leave to refer you to the President of Congress for. This Camp I mean as a Camp of repose, for the purpose of repairing our wagons, recruiting our horses, and disciplining the troops.

Colonel Lee has just arrived, and his corps is in good order, and I am told Colonel Greene from Virginia is at hand.

General Lesly with his detachment has arrived at Camden, and we have reports that another is coming.

I beg my compliments to all friends,

And am, with great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient humble servant,

N. GREENE.

HENRY LEE TO PRESIDENT REED.

On Pedee River, South Carolina, January 9th, 1781.

—I not only discharge a debt which my friendship owes by this address, but execute in some degree that duty which my country has a right to exact from me as their servant. I have lamented through the progress of the war, the imperfect manner in which all events are communicated to those whose station calls for the most accurate account of every material transaction. One characteristic is applicable to most of our public relations, and is particularly applicable to those from this quarter. Exaggeration of successful operations, diminution to adverse. From hence arise those false hopes which influence our Councils and operate on the exertions of the people. This single consideration ought to influence a perfect communication between those in the field and those at the head of affairs, and indeed I think if the printers would refuse the publication of reports, it would have a happy issue on the temper of the people. I wrote to General Wayne yesterday. I beg to refer you to him for the relation of past occurrences [— — —] Southern army, their pos — — — —

The two letters will present you with a comprehensive view of the general face of affairs in the Southern district. Lord Cornwallis, consummate in the art of war, his decision and conduct on the 16th of August, will ever do him honour. On retiring from Charlotte he made a most masterly disposition of his army, comprehending within his posts the rich western country of South Carolina. Camden, Ninety-Six, and Georgetown are his most important posts. He is nursing his army, recruiting his horse, augmenting his cavalry, and establishing a traitorous correspondence with the inhabitants of North Carolina. From the best accounts, I reckon the British army inclusive of the garrison at Charleston, and including General Lesly's reinforcement, will amount to 5000 effectives. Add to this computation a numerous cavalry, perhaps one thousand, on the legionary plan. With this army he can [— — —] through North Carolina, pro [— — —] lower route. It is a [— —] that the major part of the State are in the British interest, and that the enemy will receive every aid as soon as they can establish themselves in any part of the lower country, or in any important point in the upper. In my opinion a very different policy must be pursued by the General commanding the Southern army, from what was pursued in the Northern States. There it was our interest to keep on the country flank of the foe. Here it is our plan (in my humble opinion,) to move in the lower country, keeping an army of observation on the left flank. You must know that only on the rivers is there the least attention to agriculture among these people, unless high up in the country. The settlements on the river are rich and populous; the intermediate lands barren and unsettled. Therefore the motions of the armies must be from river to river, striking at the head of navigation, and receiving by boats the produce on [— — — —] ments. Should Cornwallis [— — — —] the upper route, it will be in Greene's power to preserve himself in the lower country, and subsist his army on its retrograde; while General Morgan, with the aid of our back friends, may harass and disturb the enemy's progress. Should he take the lower route, the difficulty of subsisting the flank detachment, will be very great, nor can the army support itself comfortably during its retreat. The enemy are making preparations to move out, though from the impoverished state of their horses, I flatter myself we shall not be disturbed for three or four weeks. If you hear that the enemy move on the Salisbury route, and there is no corresponding operation from Virginia, or via Cape Fear River, be assured we shall battle them, unless the country deprive us of every assistance. If they move on the lower route they will proceed in [— — —] this army [— — —] properly clothed and fed regularly; this representation is very different from what you have from the civil characters of North Carolina. Rely on it, the zeal of those gentlemen leads them into mistakes. I dare say they will tell you of the mighty exertions of their State. It is natural to good men to wish that their countrymen should act with propriety, but it

is a public misfortune that this disposition should create opinions and issue informations, which in their consequences are injurious to the public good. I remember well when I was in Philadelphia, and Cornwallis's retreat from Charlotte was announced, some gentlemen high in office from the Southern world, spoke confidently of the capture of the British army. Our regular force in the field was not adequate to the capture of a British regiment, nor had this little force supplies of provision to support them three days. How horrid is it that the public [— — — —] by the communi [— — — —]. Every little [— — — —] is cried up into a victory; when [— —] British Chief will readily sacrifice one thousand of those poor wretches to destroy one hundred of our regular troops. Indeed such an exchange would hardly be accepted by us.

General Greene is exerting himself with great wisdom. His movement from Charlotte was most judicious. His Camp on this river abounds with supplies for man and horse, procured by his personal efforts. He has wisely declined the aid of one class of the North Carolina militia who were ordered out, and is assiduous in his attempts to clothe and discipline his little brigade. I very well know that irregulars are completely unfit for the war in this country, notwithstanding Campbell's glorious success at King's Mountain. They will do in the flank of the enemy, and will suit Morgan's detachment exactly. His business is to harass, our business to force the enemy from their posts; irregulars will do very well for the one, but will not answer where much patience is required in the operations, and where want of correspondence in motion may blast the best-concerted plan. Were we equal to the enemy in regulars, and clad, a position on the Santee River would oblige Cornwallis to relinquish his possessions; indeed there is nothing so easy as to restore the country of South Carolina had we but an army of 5000 regulars.

This army must be had, and well supplied, or our allies must assist the operations in the country. If neither is done, I pronounce without any pretension to the gift of prophecy, that North Carolina will be added to the British dominions in America before '82. The Marquis Lafayette and General Wayne would be of infinite service in this country. I wish to God they were sent here forthwith. I hope to hear from you whenever leisure will permit, and beg you to accept my most earnest wishes for your public and private prosperity.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

HENRY LEE.*

GREENE TO REED.

Camp near the Iron Works, March 18th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have been too much engaged since the enemy crossed the Catawba to keep up my correspondence regularly with you. I have had the plea-

* The above letter is much mutilated by fire.

sure to receive several letters from you, but no opportunity to answer them. To the best of my remembrance the last time I wrote you was at the Pedee just after Tarleton's defeat, wherein I informed you that, notwithstanding that success, we had little to hope, and much to fear. The operations since have verified my apprehensions. North Carolina has been as nearly reduced as ever a State was in the universe, and escape. Our force was so small, and Lord Cornwallis's movements were so rapid, that we got no reinforcements of militia, and therefore were obliged to retire out of the State, upon which the spirits of the people sunk, and almost all classes of the inhabitants gave themselves up for lost. They would not believe themselves in danger until they found ruin at their doors. The foolish prejudice of the formidableness of the militia being a sufficient barrier against any attempts of the enemy, prevented the Legislature from making any exertions equal to their critical and dangerous situation. Experience has convinced them of their false security. It is astonishing to me how these people could place such a confidence in a militia scattered over the face of the whole earth, and generally destitute of everything necessary to their own defence. The militia in the back country are formidable, the others are not, and all are very ungovernable and difficult to keep together. As they have generally come out, twenty thousand might be in motion, and not five hundred in the field.

After crossing the Dan, and collecting a few Virginia militia, finding the enemy had erected their standard at Hillsborough, and the people began to flock to it from all quarters, either for protections, or to engage in their service, I determined to recross at all hazards, and it was very fortunate that I did, otherwise Lord Cornwallis would have got several thousand recruits. Seven companies were enlisted in one day. Our situation was desperate at the time we recrossed the Dan; our numbers were much inferior to the enemy, and we were without ammunition, provisions, or stores of any kind, the whole having retired over the Stanton River. However, I thought it was best to put on a good face, and make the most of appearances. Lieutenant Colonel Lee's falling in with the Tories upon the Haw almost put a total stop to their recruiting service. Our numbers were, doubtless, greatly magnified, and pushing on boldly towards Hillsborough, led Lord Cornwallis into a belief that I meant to attack him wherever I could find him. The case was widely different. It was certain I could not fight him in a general action without almost certain ruin. To skirmish with him was my only chance. Those happened daily, and the enemy suffered considerably; but our militia coming out principally upon the footing of volunteers, they fell off daily after every skirmish, and went home to tell the news. In this situation, with an inferior force, I kept constantly in the neighbourhood of Lord Cornwallis until the 6th, when he made a rapid push at our Light Infantry, commanded by Colonel Williams, who very judiciously avoided the blow. This manœuvre of the enemy obliged me to change my position. Indeed, I rarely ever lay more than two days in a place. The country, being much of a wilderness, obliged the enemy to guard carefully against a

surprise, and rendered it difficult to surprise us. We had few wagons with us—no baggage, and only tents enough to secure our arms in case of a wasting rain.

Here has been the field for the exercise of genius, and an opportunity to practise all the great and little arts of war. Fortunately, we have blundered through without meeting with any capital misfortune. On the 11th of this month I formed a junction, at the High Rock Ford, with a considerable body of Virginia and North Carolina militia, and with a Virginia regiment of eighteen months' men. Our force being now much more considerable than it had been, and upon a more permanent footing, I took the determination of giving the enemy battle without loss of time, and made the necessary dispositions accordingly. The battle was fought at or near Guilford Court-House, the very place from whence we began our retreat after the Light Infantry joined the army from the Pedee. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody. We were obliged to give up the ground, and lost our artillery, but the enemy have been so soundly beaten that they dare not move towards us since the action, notwithstanding we lay within ten miles of him for two days. Except the ground and the artillery, they have gained no advantage; on the contrary, they are little short of being ruined. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded cannot be less than between six and seven hundred, perhaps more. Victory was long doubtful, and had the North Carolina militia done their duty, it was certain. They had the most advantageous position I ever saw, and left it without making scarcely the shadow of opposition. Their General and Field Officers exerted themselves, but the men would not stand. Many threw away their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation, even before a gun was fired at them. The Virginia militia behaved nobly, and annoyed the enemy greatly. The horse, at different times in the course of the day, performed wonders. Indeed, the horse is our great safeguard, and without them the militia could not keep the field in this country. Colonel Williams, who acts as Adjutant-General, was very active, and to this officer I am greatly indebted for his assistance.* Burnet is one of the finest young men I ever saw, and will make one of the greatest military characters.† I am happy in the confidence of the army, and, though unfortunate, I lose none of their esteem. Never did an army labour under so many disadvantages as this; but the fortitude and patience of the officers and soldiery rise superior to all difficulties. We have little to eat, less to drink, and lodge in the woods in the midst of smoke. Indeed, our fatigue is excessive. I was so much overcome night before last that I fainted.

Our army is in good spirits, but the militia are leaving us in great numbers to return home to kiss their wives and sweethearts.

I have never felt an easy moment since the enemy crossed the Catawba

* Otho H. Williams, of Maryland. I have in my possession copies of very interesting letters from Greene to Colonel Williams.

† Major Burnet, the father of Hon. Jacob Burnet, of Cincinnati.

until since the defeat of the 15th, but now I am perfectly easy, being persuaded it is out of the enemy's power to do us any great injury. Indeed, I think they will retire as soon as they can get off their wounded. My love to your family and all friends. You will please to accept this short account until I have a better opportunity to write you."

GREENE TO REED.

Camp near Camden, on the West side of
the Wateree, May the 4th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have been in this department near six months, and have written you several letters, without receiving a line of remembrance. Formerly I used to flatter myself of holding a place in your friendship, and my being sent to this unfortunate country, I hope, has not lessened it; for I am sure I never had more need of it in my life, either for consolation or support.

The nature of the war and the circumstances of this country appear to be little known to the Northward. The strength and resources of these States to support the war have been greatly magnified and overrated, and those whose business and true interest it was to give a just state of the situation of things, have joined in the deception, and from a false principle of pride of having the country thought powerful, have led people to believe it was so. It is true there were many inhabitants, but they were spread over a great extent of country, and near equally divided between the King's interest and ours. The majority is greatly in favour of the enemy's interest now, as great numbers of the Whigs have left the country. The produce that is raised in the country is difficult to collect, from the extent of country, in the best of times, and utterly impossible to do it now, as all the horses and means of transportation are destroyed. The love of pleasure and the want of principle, among many of those who are our friends, render the exertions very languid in support of our cause; and unless the Northern States can give more effectual support, these States must fall, and, what is worse, I am afraid this fall will lay a foundation to sap the liberties of all the rest; for the enemy recruits with great facility in these States, and the service in this quarter is so disagreeable to our soldiers, from the scanty supplies, that many of them enter their service. The enemy have got a much firmer footing in South Carolina and Georgia than is generally believed. Camden, Ninety-Six, and Augusta cover all the fertile parts of these States; and the enemy have laid waste the upper country in such a manner that an army cannot subsist in the neighbourhood of them; and this must secure their posts. Nothing but a superior army to the enemy's collective force can give relief to this distressed country, the miseries of which exceeds all belief. Nor do I believe any people suffered greater calamities. The Whigs and the Tories are butchering one another hourly. The war here is upon a very different scale to what it is to the Northward. It is a plain business there. The geography of the country reduces its operations to two or three

points. But here it is everywhere; and the country is so full of deep rivers and impassable creeks and swamps, that you are always liable to misfortunes of a capital nature. In collecting provisions and forage, we are obliged to send the same guards and escorts as if the country was avowedly our enemy's.

Some of the States, when ruin approaches them, exert themselves; but the difficulties and danger no sooner subside than they sink down into their former sloth and inattention, and seem to be content with the merit of what they have done, without once considering what there is to do. This is the case with Virginia, who exerted herself greatly on the enemy's approach this last winter, but have left us to ourselves ever since. North Carolina did nothing at all until she saw that we would not let the enemy possess the State quietly. There are many good Whigs in the State, but I verily believe the Tories are much the most numerous, and the Whigs are so fond of pleasure, that they have but little relish for the rugged business of war. Government is so feeble that it is next to nothing, and the popular plan that influences the Councils greatly weakens the natural interest of the well-affected. The Whigs will do nothing unless the Tories are made do equal duty; and this cannot be effected, as the Tories are the stronger party; so neither aid the army. However, measures are now taking to raise men for a year, and I am in hopes some will take the field.

Maryland has given no assistance to this army. Not a man has joined us from that State, and we are discharging her men daily, their times of service being out. She has shamefully neglected us. You frequently hear of great things from Generals Marion and Sumter. These are brave, good officers; but the people that are with them come and go just as they please, and are more allured from the hopes of plunder than from a desire to serve the public; at least this is the case with many, if not all their followers. These parties serve rather to keep the dispute alive, than lay a foundation for the recovery of the country. Don't be deceived in your expectations from this quarter; if greater support cannot be given for the recovery of these States, they must and will remain in the hands of the enemy.

Our manœuvres have been various, and the conflict very unequal. We have been twice beaten; the last time by an unfortunate order of Colonel Gunby, who ordered the first Maryland regiment to retire, when the enemy were fleeing before them, and the enemy in confusion in all quarters. Victory was certain, and the fall of Camden as certain, as I had taken measures to cut off the enemy's retreat. To induce them to sally was the object of our position, after finding that the works were too strong and the garrison too large to storm with a prospect of succeeding. The event was the most unfortunate that can be imagined, not from the injury we received, but the loss of the opportunity to take the place. Camden seems to have some evil genius about it. Whatever is attempted near that place is unfortunate. War is a critical business, and the best-concerted plans subject to disappointments from the most trifling incidents.

The prospects here are so unpromising, and the difficulties so great, that

I am sick of the service, and wish myself out of the Department. When I made this last movement, I expected 2000 Virginia militia to operate with us, and 1000 men with Sumter; but both have failed me, and I am in the greatest distress. The tardiness of the people puts it out of my power to attempt anything great. If our good ally, the French, cannot afford assistance to these Southern States, in my opinion there will be no opposition on this side Virginia before fall; and I expect the enemy will possess all the lower country of that State. The want of subsistence will prevent further operations in this country, unless we can take post on the Congaree, where provisions are to be had in great plenty.

With esteem and regard,

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

N. GREENE.

PRESIDENT REED TO GREENE.

Philadelphia, June 16th, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I am to acknowledge and thank you for three letters received since you left us, two private and one public. I acknowledge the justice of your strictures in part, and must rely upon your friendship to excuse the seeming inattention in not writing you oftener. I call it seeming, because it has not proceeded from want of affection and remembrance, but, in truth and fact, from the following causes: To write to you common occurrences did not deserve your time or mine. To write confidentially and on interesting particulars has become so hazardous that I could not think of it, unless some such opportunity as the present offered. Dr. Faysoux failed me, through a mistake; having taken Mr. Pettit's letters, he thought he had the whole, and left town without my knowledge, though I had laid out for the opportunity. We have had in this quarter the most remarkable disclosures of private correspondence that could be imagined; four mails have been carried into New York this winter and spring, and Rivington retails out the letters weekly. Much public dissatisfaction and private enmity has ensued, as you will suppose. My situation, you will know, does not admit of my running any risks of adding to the number of my public or personal enemies; and this, I assure you, has been the only reason of my silence.

However, I think Governor Rutledge will take care of himself as well on public as private account, and, therefore, I, with great pleasure, avail myself of the opportunity, to assure you of my unabated esteem, and my most cordial wishes for your health, honour and happiness. I have long thought that the partialities of the southern people, which, I believe, exceed any in the world (the Scotch not excepted), have kept us in a fatal blindness, as to the real strength and resources of their country. To this, some successes at the beginning of the war, brilliant indeed for the season, have very

much contributed; but the systematical attack made by Sir Henry Clinton, and since pursued with steadiness, shows us the advantages which that mode of warfare will eventually have in a country so thinly inhabited, and where the spirit or enthusiasm of the inhabitants is to supply the deficiencies of solid battalions and the necessary apparatus of war. I have ever ascribed the loss of Charleston, with its numerous garrison, to the defeat of the British Fleet at Sullivan's Island and the repulse of Prevost at that place, in 1779. The other successes, on a smaller scale, have also had their exaggeration, and the ability of the country to make effectual opposition has never been given up till lately.

From your letter by Mr. O'Hara, the same spirit still remains, which I am exceedingly sorry for. It is certain that no state has suffered so little from the enemy, and which, on many accounts, could do very handsomely if so disposed. At present they all seem to bear upon Pennsylvania as well to raise troops as to feed the army, support all the prisoners and furnish almost every species of military stores.* We have now requisitions for about 4000 men to take the field, and I am not without ideas of going myself.†

I have often, my dear General, deplored your situation, to be placed in a

* In a letter from Mr. Morris, of 28th August, 1781, to the Governor of Maryland, he says: "The New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, have supported, and must continue to support the main army. Pennsylvania will also contribute towards the support of the southern army, and the supplies will be directed both ways as circumstances may require. Delaware and Maryland must chiefly be depended on. Virginia and North Carolina will, I hope, continue to do all they can. But your Excellency must be perfectly sensible that I have not any funds to purchase supplies; no State in the Union has hitherto supplied me with money, except Pennsylvania."—*Diplomatic Correspondence*, vol. xi. p. 460.

† The following are Extracts from two letters from Colonel William Grayson, to General Weedon, the originals belonging to the American Philosophical Society:

Philadelphia, 18th June, 1781.

The languid Assembly of this State are doing nothing; they continue debating about the means of filling up their line, and of complying with the requisition of Congress for sending 2000 militia infantry, and 200 militia horse to the assistance of Virginia; I own I now begin to be afraid they will do neither. The Republican party rule the roast, who are afraid of disgusting the people by imposing heavy burdens on them. The President of the State is very anxious for the measure, and intends to command the troops in person, if the Assembly direct their march.

June 26th, same to same.

This State is doing well at present in some things; effectual measures are taking to fill up their line; their money affairs will be put on a good footing. I cannot, as yet, inform you whether they will send any militia to Virginia.

state of responsibility with so little means of effecting anything decisive. To be at the same instant beset by the enemy, and want of every species, is a condition reserved for American generals. But it must be your consolation, as it is your glory, that you have conducted yourself so as to draw the admiration of every one, and excite a well-grounded confidence in your abilities, that if you cannot preserve the country it is because it cannot be preserved. I can assure you, without flattery (of which from our long acquaintance and friendship, you will not suspect me) that you stand very high in public esteem. Would to God it would operate in some effectual support to enable you to close the scene with final success and honour. If you will permit me, in the freedom of friendship, I would mention two particulars which some people here carp at; they are so easily corrected that my regard for you will not let me be quite silent: they insist that you hold the militia in contempt, and are too much inclined to attribute failure to them. I do not now recollect particular instances from which this inference is drawn, but such an idea has taken place. Indeed, the manner in which your despatches, after the Battle of Guilford, describe the failure, compared with that of the affair before Camden, where the Maryland Continentals failed you, has added some force to the remark.

My sentiments of militia have been ever pretty much the same, but I see plainly that the avarice and indolence of the great body of the people of America will never allow them to support a permanent force equal to the defence of the country, and that of course we must give up the contest or cherish the militia. The successes which they have obtained to the northward, at King's Mountain, and elsewhere, seem also to give them some meritorious claims. The jealousy which has taken place, especially in this State, between the Continental troops and them, very much resembling the behaviour of the Regulars and our Provincials last war, keeps up an attention to this point, and though it may be forgiven in the inferior officers, depend upon it the bulk of the country resent any indignity attempted towards them. In short, at this time of day, we must say of them, as Prior of a wife:

Be to their faults a little blind,
And to their virtues very kind.

I know how natural it is, and how difficult to avoid exculpating one's self from supposed errors, by pointing out the real conduct and circumstances of things. It is my own failing, and from which I have suffered more than any other error in my public conduct. After much experience I find it makes numerous enemies and carries very little conviction or information to people in general, who will not give themselves time to go beyond the surface of things. Your private letters are not always made a good use of here; that is, they are shown with too much freedom, so that I have frequently expected to see them in print. I have often known them copied, and handed about with as little reserve as they would have done a newspaper. This is

neither doing you justice or serving the public, as you undoubtedly express yourself on those occasions with a freedom which you would not do if designed for the public eye. I now refer to private letters you have wrote to members of Congress. Besides, in the great hurry of business, confusion of march, &c., it is scarce possible to avoid, either in public or private despatches, some inaccuracies. Rivington has been very saucy with you on this score, on your letter after the affair at Guilford, though it appeared to me rather obscure than inaccurate. Congress observe inviolably the rule of printing letters as received, which I think too rigorous, as it is almost impossible in certain circumstances for the most correct penman, wholly to avoid inaccuracies.

You will naturally wish to have some estimate from me of our manners and principles, and a view of our situation as ruled and rulers—the former necessarily precedes the latter; and indeed, my dear General, I am sorry to be obliged by the all-powerful voice of indisputable facts to acknowledge that the Independence of the country seeming to be pretty well established, a passion, and a raging one, too, for gain, has evidently taken place of those considerations which were formerly deemed so honourable and so necessary. Every attempt to check it produces the vilest abuse of public and private character. The paper money has fairly run its race, and gold and silver are now the only medium of commerce, but will you believe me when I inform you that the public can get none of it, no, not a shilling. The merchant, the farmer, the tradesman, have all closed their hands, and we are at this moment in a state of the most shameful imbecility, tantalized with the show of plenty, which never was more conspicuous, and yet destitute of the means of procuring the smallest articles; not an ounce of provisions, not a single recruit, not a particle of military stores, can be procured. The auri sacra fames has taken universal possession, and our Legislature, seduced from their duty by the vile popularity which every great and good mind must despise, dare not attempt any thing vigorous, and where authority ought to supply the place of enthusiasm, and support private virtue, we behold it dwindled to a shadow.* Congress is not supported by the people,

* Nor were these complaints of the Assembly only uttered by the President. About this time General Irvine thus wrote to Wayne.

Carlisle, March 14th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since I arrived here I have not heard a single thing the Assembly have been doing; if they have done anything they keep it to themselves. The first intimation the people of the back Counties have of any Laws is not till the Assemblyman gets home after the session is over, (except by mere accident.)

'Tis true their proceedings are published in newspapers, but they do not circulate; as a proof, the Commissioners are only making out the Classes now on the law made at the last meeting of Assembly; not one man produced by it yet. Unless something is done immediately, we shall have no line; and let the Assem-

not, as our Tories flatter themselves, that the cause is less revered, or their persons respected, but because dire necessity has compelled them so often to promise, without the means of performance, and that they have so little in their disposal. Their officers are badly paid, their contracts unperformed, and every man of independent spirit flies from their service as from a thankless bondage. It is a mortifying, but not less just observation that the same men and the same authority shall be respected and applauded with a full purse, which are calumniated, reprobated and slighted with an empty one. I have ever thought Congress possessed of some of the most estimable and virtuous characters this or any other country can boast, and that few public bodies could have displayed more ability and honesty in their arduous work, Mr. Deane's affairs and his associates only excepted, in which corruption and party undoubtedly had too great a share, and which will one day stamp the proceedings of that Congress with indelible infamy. But the age of miracles has ceased. Congress cannot support armies, establish the civil business of a great Empire, and conduct a war with one of the greatest powers on earth without means. Poor and destitute, how unjust is it in us to blame them for not doing what they have not power to do. The present

bly enact what laws they please, unless they take some other mode of communicating them than has yet been, to their constituents, they need not expect an easy or speedy compliance. 'Tis rumoured that vast numbers of men are assembling at the several regimental rendezvouses. I assure you there is no truth in it; the enclosed list will show, which I have taken from officers who left the regiments two days ago. I am told the troops are ordered to be held in readiness to march, immediately after settlement with the Auditors. Pray how are men or officers to march immediately after settlement, if the settlement will be of any use to them; or if they can get any money for their notes, will it not take two or three weeks for them to procure clothing and other necessaries?

Are there any clothes providing, or are there a single rag of Camp equipage? Are forges, tents, wagons, &c. &c., even thought of? No, but the Line is ordered to march. I wish proper steps were first taken to get *a Line*, secondly to equip them. Then, I need not tell you, that no man will march with more alacrity than your friend; but it puts me much out of temper to hear march, march, and nobody to march with. Marching by detachment I also hate, if it can possibly be avoided, for you may rely upon it it ruins regiments to divide them.

If you march a hundred men of any one regiment, be assured another hundred never will follow. It will be said the regiment has marched, and there will be nearly an end of it. Are the notes put on interest, and a day named for their redemption?—is there any monthly pay for the troops, or is there anything to be done?

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

I am told the Marquis's expedition is likely to fail, but have not heard any cause assigned.

Congress, though not composed of the greatest men of the country, is much less contaminated with party than most of their predecessors, and I verily believe if the baneful influence of New York, that hot-bed of calumny, and seditious interference with the business and characters of others, could be suppressed, Congress would soon rise into more dignity and consequence; but they have sown the seeds of eternal discord between the Southern and the Northern States, and those characters of the Middle who could not be brought to think that every vice and wickedness that can disgrace a people were the characteristics of the New England States. General Washington complains of us all. Engrossed by military concerns, he has not time or opportunity to know the real state of the country, or the difficulties which environ men in civil life. He will always deservedly possess great splendour of character, but I am of opinion it has seen its meridian, and it is not improbable he may one day, as we now, have reason to complain of ingratitude, and unkind returns of essential and disinterested services.

The affairs of Europe have borne an aspect generally very favourable; they do so now, but it seems pretty clear to every observing character that our good ally means to keep us between hope and despair. The finishing the War in America is so obvious that it is impossible to miss it by accident. The enemy are so confined, and depend so necessarily on naval movements, that a decisive superiority for a few weeks would do the business. In one respect they are right. We are not even yet so weaned from Great Britain as to afford them the full benefits of the Alliance. You tell me the Tories are most numerous with you. I believe I might justly say so of Pennsylvania, but they are dastardly, cowardly wretches, who confer neither credit or strength on any cause to which they are attached. Their leaders are chiefly men of great fortune, who first sought that side as the safest; the same sordid spirit and mortified pride actuates them. They have neither the courage nor ambition which elevates men to great designs, and makes them useful to the cause they espouse.

The New England States have made great exertions to raise men, but to do it for the war was impracticable, nor have they for temporary service had the success to which they were entitled. General Washington's ranks are thin; recruiting with us is at an end, except for hard money and large bounties, neither of which we can compass. However, never to despair of the commonwealth is the first duty and principle of a good citizen, and with all our infirmities, failures, and even vices, I have no doubt we shall be finally safe in the arms of Independence. Great Britain cannot stand it much longer; her exertions now are rather the strong convulsive efforts of a delirium than the fixed and permanent force of regular health and system. But it is our duty at this time above all others to make the most capital exertions; it seems a universal opinion, and but too probable, that she will push *a uti possidetis*, and thereby keep possession of some of the States till a more favourable opportunity offers to recover the whole; this, in our situation, would be ruin and a failure of the great object of so much blood

and treasure. We are too corrupt to bear a contact with her, and "deliver us from temptation," was never a more necessary and proper prayer. The Southern States in this respect would sooner and better serve her views, and I fear aristocratic virtue less likely to support the desirable opposition than any other. I can venture to tell you by way of digression, that you are much more a favourite with these gentlemen than when you first went into command. What a pity it is that minds otherwise truly estimable can see merit with so much difficulty when separate from the splendour of pomp and fortune.

While I think of it, let me beg you to preserve as much as possible regular and authentic accounts of what has passed and may pass in your department with a general sketch of characters who make any considerable figure with you. I am about giving some little essay towards a history of the present Revolution, and I would wish to have my materials as perfect as possible. I think I can give a pretty good account of the campaigns in 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778. Since that period my knowledge of military affairs has been more confined. To the Southward I must depend much upon you. The little observations I have made of our own affairs has destroyed all the credibility of history, and I am satisfied that one half of what is read, and perhaps more, is nothing but an agreeable romance, framed according to the fancy of the historian, and the materials good or bad which he has accidentally collected. Many a victory has been gained, I firmly believe, contrary to the will and judgment of the General, who has swallowed the undeserved praise with as little compunction as if it had been gained by the skill of his manœuvres, and the full exertion of his own talents and judgment. If I should live to finish what I have begun, I shall certainly strip every Jack Daw of his borrowed plumage, which I can the better do, as I have no pretensions to plumes of any kind myself beyond what a volunteer of subordinate fame can lay claim to.*

I flatter myself you take so much interest in my welfare as to wish to know how I have got along, and I will tell you in a few words. Every artifice has been used by the implacable faction which agitates Pennsylvania to ruin my peace, destroy my character, lessen my influence, and embarrass my administration. Having given them the credit of industry, I can neither applaud their talents, approve their morals, or say anything favourable of their designs. I have been alternately the subject of gross abuse and extravagant panegyric: I deserve neither; I am an honest servant of my country, but I know I have made many mistakes in which my head, not my heart, was to blame. At my age, it was unpardonable to expect that honesty and disinterestedness, a sincere regard to the public interest, and very little to private, should lull the monster envy, and that a wicked mercenary set of men should admire or approve what they could never imitate. The vain

* Mr. Reed does not seem to have made any further progress in this design, his ill-health at the close of the war no doubt preventing it.

task of pleasing all because I wished to serve all I have now given over, and have learned to be content with the approbation of my own mind, which I have never yet lost, and the popularity which follows, for I certainly never shall go in pursuit of it.

I mention these things to show you how little dependence is to be put on the opinions of the day, and how illy provided he must be for future contingencies who depends upon the capricious humour of others. But after all, and after repeated gross and illiberal attacks of every kind, from meanness to treason, for great pains have been taken to prove me in the interests of the enemy, I am still in good health and spirits, not disgusted with the service of my country, though ready to give place to any man who can serve it better. The *amor patriæ*, *laudumque immensa cupido* is as predominant as ever, and my first and great wish is to see the days of peace and independence. The body of the people continue my friends, because they believe that I am (as I truly am) theirs; of this I have given the most unequivocal proof, because I have consented to watch for three years that others might sleep, to be poor that they might grow rich. But 'tis time I should correct myself; what can the political feuds of a State, the private or public scandal of a single character, be to a General surrounded with every kind of difficulty?

I am astonished when I review the sheets that I have wrote, but they will serve to prove what I wished to convince you of, that I neither can neglect or forget you. No, my dear General, this is impossible. Every day adds to my regard for you, because every day shows me how few there are in the world who really derive or can enjoy the real pleasures of friendship. Adieu; every kind wish attend you.

P. S. My particular regard to Colonel Lee; if I can, I will write him per this opportunity, but as it is uncertain, assure him of my continued good wishes and esteem. Compliments and remembrance to Burnet and your own family, with others who are well-wishers.

It was at this time that Wayne was detached to join Lafayette, in Virginia, with the Pennsylvania line. In what spirit he undertook this duty, and with what feeling he parted with the President, is apparent from the following letter, written at the moment of departure.

WAYNE TO REED.

Philadelphia, 11th May, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I set off for the Southward this afternoon at one o'clock. If your Excellency or Council have any commands I shall be happy to receive them.

I have only to wish you life and happiness, and beg you to believe me in every vicissitude of fortune,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

WAYNE TO REED.

Yorktown, 26th May, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I steal a moment while the troops are marching through the town, to acknowledge your favour of the 21st instant, and to thank you for the inclosed intelligence.

We have a rumour this moment from Baltimore that General Phillips and Lord Cornwallis have formed a junction in Virginia, which is very probable, as they were but eighty miles apart yesterday two weeks.

I am happy to inform you that harmony and discipline again pervade the line, to which a prompt and exemplary punishment was a painful, though the necessary prelude.

I must beg leave to refer you to General Irvin for particulars, who can procure a return of the detachment from the Board of War, if necessary.

Permit me to wish you all happiness, and believe me,

Yours, most sincerely.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

The next letter from Greene is worthy of great admiration for its manliness and directness.

GREENE TO REED.

Head-quarters, High Hills, Santee,

August 6th, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Governor Rutledge arrived a few days since, and brought me your long, and very agreeable letter of the 16th of June. Nothing could have been more welcome, as it served to remove an apprehension that I no longer held that place in your esteem, which I once flattered myself with. The scenes of adversity which we have passed together, the similarity of our sentiments upon political and military matters, together with the particular attention you always paid me from our earliest connexion, added to the fullest persuasion that your motives were just and honourable, created in me the warmest attachment to your person and interest, which has remained unshaken through all the convulsions of party and faction, and undiminished notwithstanding all the misrepresentation of the base and designing. I felt myself your friend, and I always avowed it. In no place and in no com-

pany have I heard your reputation traduced without defending it. Being thus conscious of deserving your friendship, and most devoutly wishing it, the least appearance of a change in you created no small anxiety in me. If I have been too jealous on this occasion, let it be considered a misfortune, not a fault, as it arose from a heart warm with friendship and seeking an equal return. I now feel myself happy in the persuasion that our regards are mutual, and our friendship continued.

You tell me it is a received opinion with some, that I despise the militia. If this opinion is taken up from my endeavouring to state the force of the militia in this Country in its true light, it will serve to convince me in this as well as in many other instances, that people are so wedded to prejudices that flatter their vanity, that they will sooner run to ruin in pursuit of them, than avoid it by embracing truth and conviction. I am far from despising the militia; I have ever considered them the great palladium of American liberty. It was my duty to state the force of the militia of this Country in its proper light. I was responsible for the war in this quarter, and it was necessary that Congress should know what force was here, in order to determine what additional force would be necessary to send. In my public and private representations of the force of this Country, truth has been my guide, and I have only endeavoured to show that the militia of these States were equal, or superior in point of spirit and bravery, to any on the Continent, yet their force was small according to their numbers, from their being spread over such vast tracts of land, which renders it difficult to collect them. My account of the Guilford action only reflected upon the North Carolina Militia; the Virginia Militia were complimented and richly deserved it, and the compliment was pleasing. Whatever opinion Members of Congress may entertain to my disadvantage, respecting the militia of this Country, the militia themselves are perfectly satisfied, and, I believe, would do anything in the world to serve and oblige me. I have paid great court to them, and have their confidence and good opinion. They are not only of my way of thinking respecting a good regular army being necessary for their protection and security, but many are urging a draft to fill their Continental Regiment.

If my account of the Camden action was different from that of Guilford, it was owing to the defeats arising from another cause. The troops were not to blame in the Camden affair. Gunby was the sole cause of the defeat, and I found him much more blameable afterwards than I represented him in my public letters. The action of Camden was much more bloody, according to the numbers engaged, than that of Guilford, on both sides. The enemy had more than one-third of their whole force engaged either killed or wounded, and we had not less than a quarter. Depend upon it our actions have been bloody and severe, according to the force engaged, and we should have had Lord Rawdon and his whole command prisoners in three minutes, if Colonel Gunby had not ordered his regiment to retire, the greatest part of which were advancing rapidly at the time they were

ordered off. I was almost frantic with vexation at the disappointment. Fortune has not been much our friend. The Guilford action was critical, and the victory long in suspense. At Camden it was certain, but for the intervention of one of those incidents which no human foresight can guard against. At Ninety-Six the garrison was relieved when it was on the eve of surrender. But though we are not altogether successful, I hope the benefit resulting from the operations of the Campaign will be sufficient to satisfy the just and reasonable expectations of the people, and to convince them that my character has been altogether mistaken; for that I am neither a rash man nor yet wanting in enterprise, which Mr. Mifflin endeavoured to persuade the world was the case. You have been with me in most of the material operations to the Northward, heard my sentiments and seen my conduct, and know how different the insinuation is from truth. But the war here is widely different from what you ever saw to the Northward; the difficulties there are not to be mentioned in the same day with those we feel here. There you have support from every side, here it is remote and uncertain. There you have resources of every kind, here you have none but what are within yourself. In a word, the war to the Northward is a plain business, and the manœuvres plain and simple, but here they are complicated and various. There most of the people are warm friends, here the greater part are inveterate enemies. Our difficulties, distresses, and perseverance, have been greater than you can imagine, and perhaps no army ever merited more than this; for had not the officers strove, generally, to promote the service all in their power, we should have been inevitably ruined. I have much the affection and confidence of the army, as much so as I can wish or desire.

I shall preserve you such materials as may serve you as lights in writing the history of America. I have served my Country with an honest zeal to the best of my abilities, which have been small, and am less solicitous for the applause of the present day, or the panegyric of the future historian, than I am to discharge my duty. But Congress have complimented officers upon far less occasions than the operations of this army have afforded. If the Southern gentlemen have altered their sentiments of me for the better, I am glad of it. But I am not courting popularity, being long since convinced how empty the pursuit. Nor am I desirous of rising into great eminence, knowing that it is far more difficult to support than acquire a great reputation, which often depends more on accident than substantial merit. My greatest happiness is to be esteemed by a few friends, and enjoy the approbation of my own mind; not that I am regardless of matters which concern my reputation, but I will not mould my conduct to accommodate it to the prejudices of the people, different from truth, nor will I flatter where the want of merit forbids. It is not my intention to set up for a reformer; I am sensible how fruitless the undertaking. But when I am obliged to speak of men and things, I must speak as I find them. The opportunity afforded Mr. Rivington arose from Captain [illegible] omitting a

sentence in copying one of my letters to General Washington; in the original it is, "Lord Cornwallis retired to Guilford;" in that published by Congress, "Cornwallis" is left out, which makes it read as if I had retired to Guilford, whereas in my next letter I tell Congress I marched such a day from High Rock Ford, and arrived at Guilford such a day. One account contradicts the other, as they now stand. But Mr. Rivington charges it upon Congress, and I thought it had been an omission of theirs and not of ours. But the situation in which we are often obliged to write, I wonder there are not more mistakes than there are.

I am exceeding sorry that the army treats you so very ungratefully. You have been more their friend than any other man in America. Envy is your worst enemy, but it is the highest proof of your merit. Your administration has been perplexing, but even your enemies allow it to be honourable. I think, with you, that our independence is certain, but how or when it is to take place is left in the field of conjecture. No mortal more ardently wishes it than I do. My ambition is too small to balance the love I have for my family, and the gratification I feel from one is far less than the sacrifices I make in the separation from the other. I am not fit for a military life, for I cannot adopt its maxims.

This will be handed you by Lieut. Col. Morris, who is going to General Washington, to learn his further intentions respecting the southern operations. If New York is taken, as I have some reason to hope, I flatter myself with an early peace. Morris will inform you of our situation and the Marquis's, whose conduct is much admired. Our old friend, Baron Steuben, has very undeservedly got unpopular, from arraigning too freely the conduct of the great in Virginia; however, I hope it will soon blow over. I want to say a great deal more, but really have not time. You will remember me to all friends, and believe me to be most affectionately your friend and well-wisher.

N. GREENE.

At the time this letter was written, Washington was maturing his plan of a southern movement in conjunction with Count Rochambeau. On the 6th of September, the French army passed through Philadelphia, and on the 14th, Washington held a conference with Count De Grasse and the French Generals on board the Admiral's ship in the Chesapeake, at which the plan of the immediate campaign was settled, and the measures projected which resulted, in about a month, in the surrender of Cornwallis and the virtual suppression of the war. It should not be forgotten that the Pennsylvania troops, recruited too, in great measure, from the fragments of the former line,

commanded by Wayne, largely co-operated in this result; how much, will appear from the two following and most characteristic letters, never yet published.*

WAYNE TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Williamsburg, 14th September, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

The arrival of the Count De Grasse with a large fleet of men of war, &c., must have been announced in Philadelphia long before this period. I wish that the state of our magazines had been such as to enabled us to improve the moment of his arrival, but they were not, and, what is worse, they are not even at this moment.

I don't know how it is, but I have not felt so sanguine on the occasion as the naval and land force sent us by our generous and great ally would justify,—probably it is occasioned by our former disappointments, when matters bore a flattering aspect.

The French troops are the finest and best made body of men that I ever beheld; their officers are gentlemen, and I will be answerable for their being soldiers;—we have the highest opinion of their discipline, and cannot doubt their prowess.

Do you know that, notwithstanding all these circumstances, I have been extremely uneasy lest the appearance of a British fleet off these Capes should induce the Count to follow them too far, and leave an opening for the British to enter to his exclusion?—I hope it was not ominous. Admiral Hood made his appearance with eighteen sail of the line last Wednesday week; the Count De Grasse with twenty-two sail of the line immediately weighed anchor, fourteen of which engaged Hood; the other eight could not get up in time, as the British Admiral fled too soon for anything but an act of choice. May he not wish to draw De Grasse towards New York, and expose him to the effects of the equinoctial storm, whilst the British lay snug in harbour? The Count D'Estaing was taken in by Howe this time three years by a manœuvre of the same kind; but it cannot, it must not be the case now. The Count has left six sail of the line to block up the entrance of the Chesapeake during his absence; he also has another object, i. e. the junction of the Rhode Island fleet in a given latitude, which may account for his long absence.

Unless fortune is uncommonly unkind, Lord Cornwallis and his army must submit to our combined forces; his numbers are more than generally given out,—we shall find at least six thousand combatants, officers included, exclusive of negroes, &c. &c.; so that during the absence of the Count De

* *Washington*, viii. 63.

Grasse, who has a large body of marines on board destined to act with us, we could not conveniently complete the investiture of York and Gloucester.

However, the arrival of his Excellency General Washington, with the troops under his immediate command, will enable us to commence our operations immediately.

I must acknowledge that I could wish to bring his Lordship to an action previous to the investiture, as it would certainly very much accelerate his reduction.

The Marquis Lafayette, one of the best of officers and first of men, has for some days been laid up with a fever, which, added to my own misfortune, tended not a little to retard this essential business; he is now much recovered, and my wound is in so fair a way that I can mount my horse and lead the troops in case of emergency. From Lord Cornwallis's character, it may yet be possible to tempt him to a field day; and his Excellency being now arrived, I am in hopes matters will be put in a proper train for the purpose, otherwise you may depend upon it that the siege will be very tedious; for the enemy have improved every moment in fortifying and procuring a supply of provisions, &c. &c.

Their principal works are at Yorktown, which is nearly surrounded by the river and a morass, except a narrow isthmus, upon which is erected a strong independent redoubt, with a ditch, frize and abattis; they also occupy Gloucester, on the opposite side the river, where they have one or two little works to preserve a communication with the country; but they will certainly evacuate that side as soon as the investiture is complete.

You know that I am not of a desponding disposition, and was I to adopt that character at this crisis, I ought to be d—d; but there are a train of eventual circumstances that I can't help revolving in my mind, all of which makes me most anxiously wish his Lordship to play this duet out of the lines, in which case I would risk my soul and body on figuring into York with him and bringing the affair to a speedy issue, from a full conviction that a victorious army meets no difficulties, and that we possibly may be pressed for time—(between you and me) I have some reason to wish for the power of Joshua; I certainly would give the good old gentleman a holiday until the American colours were displayed upon the British lines.

Until when, and ever, believe me yours, most sincerely,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

I found a leisure hour to write this scrawl; I hope you may find one to decipher it in, for I really can scarcely read it myself; however, it contains some ideas warm from the heart; I therefore send it uncorrected, in which state I commit it to the hands of a friend.

Before sealing I received the enclosed note. My doubts are removed; success is certain if the fleet can wait: time—time—time is all.

On the 3d of October, sixteen days before the capitulation, Wayne wrote:

WAYNE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Lines before York, 3d October, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

The investiture of the British army under Lord Cornwallis, was effected the 29th ultimo. The enemy abandoned their advanced chain of works the same evening, leaving two enclosed redoubts almost within point blank shot of their principal fortification; this was not only unmilitary, but an indication of a confused precipitation; these works were immediately possessed by the allied troops, and we are now in such forwardness that we shall soon render his Lordship's quarters rather disagreeable.

However, the reduction of that army will require time, and some expense of blood, for we cannot expect that Lord Cornwallis will tacitly surrender six thousand combatants without many a severe *sortie*; his political and military character are now at stake. He has led the British king and ministry into a deception by assuring them of the subjugation of the Carolinas, and his manœuvre into Virginia was a child of his own creation, which he will attempt to nourish at every risk and consequence. He is now in full as desperate a situation as his namesake *Charles* was at Pultowa. I have for some time viewed him as a fiery meteor that displays a momentary lustre, then falls to rise no more.

That great officer, General Greene, first eclipsed his glory—he next met a Fabius in that young nobleman, the Marquis La Fayette, and is now encompassed by a Washington which renders his [fate] certain.

I was going chatting on, but am called to take charge of the covering troops. Adieu, and believe me,

Yours, most sincerely,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

On the 19th of October, Lord Cornwallis surrendered. During the absence of the main body of the army in Virginia, an attack on Pennsylvania, by the troops left in New York under Sir Henry Clinton, was apprehended; and the correspondence shows that President Reed was again actively engaged in organizing the militia, and putting the State in an attitude of available defence. In Mr. Morris's Diary it is stated, that frequent conferences were held on these subjects between him and the State authorities, and that at one of these, on the 21st of September, such was the exigency of the times, that the plan was proposed and advocated of raising revenue by a compulsory collection of a quarter's rent from the inhabitants

of Philadelphia. This proposition, a severe, though practicable one, came from Mr. Morris, to whom it was suggested by Paine,—just returned from France with Colonel Laurens,—in the following letter.

THOMAS PAINE TO ROBERT MORRIS.

Second Street, Sept. 20th.

SIR,

As your acquaintance with the finances, your being a member of the House, and an inhabitant of the City, give you a united knowledge and interest, I therefore trouble you with a hint which occurred to me on the reports of yesterday.

I conjecture that one-fourth or one-third part of the rental of Philadelphia will defray the expense of a body of men sufficient to prevent the enemy from destroying it; I estimate, at a guess, the yearly rental to be £300,000. As I need not mention to you the great difference between giving up a quarter's rent, and losing the whole rental, together with the capital, I shall therefore make no remarks thereon. The hint I mean to convey is, to bring in a provisionary bill for the safety of the City at all times, where the destruction of it appears to be the object of the enemy, by empowering the tenant to pay immediately into the Treasury one quarter's rent, to be applied as above, and in case it should not be necessary to use the money when collected, the sums so paid to be considered a part of the customary taxes. This, all our circumstances considered, appears to me the readiest and most eligible mode of procuring an immediate supply.

I am, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.*

Hon. R. Morris, Esquire.

The Assembly, then in session, vested in the Executive very

* "September 21st, 1781. At 1 P. M. I waited on the President of the State of Pennsylvania at his house in Market Street, and met there Mr. Peters and Mr. Cornell, of the Board of War, General St. Clair, General Irvine, and General Irwin of the militia. This conference lasted a considerable time, and in its consequences took up the rest of the day. I gave it as my opinion that Sir Henry Clinton did not intend for this City, nevertheless, as the inhabitants are alarmed and uneasy, I agreed to the propriety of being prepared, although I lamented the expense such preparation would put us to. I advised the placing a garrison at Mud Island, and putting that place in a posture of defence, and mentioned the plan proposed to me by Mr. Paine of collecting immediately one quarter's rent from all the houses in Philadelphia in order to have an immediate supply of money to defray the expenses."—*Mr. Morris's Diary. Diplomatic Correspondence*, vol. xi. p. 473.

large powers, which happily, at this period of exhaustion, were not exercised. The danger, whatever it was, passed by.

In December, 1781, the three years which, by the Constitution, was the limit of Executive service, having expired, William Moore, the late Vice President, was elected President, and Mr. Reed, after a term of official duty rarely excelled in its trials and responsibilities, returned to private life.

CHAPTER XVI.

1781—82.

The termination of Hostilities—Military Correspondence concluded—Mr. Reed's Letter to Greene, November 1, 1781—His view of Public Affairs in Pennsylvania—Organization of the Executive Departments—Morris, Livingston and Schuyler—Deane's intercepted Letters—Lafayette's Letter of Farewell—Desolate interval after the War—Greene's Letters, February, 1782, and 18th July, 1782—Greene's Letter to Clement Biddle.

LITTLE else will be now attempted than to bring to a close Mr. Reed's correspondence with his military friends—a correspondence which for seven years of war had been continued with the most perfect confidence and unreserve. On the part of Mr. Reed, these letters relate generally to Pennsylvania affairs, and, though tinged with occasional asperity, give a reasonably fair colour—such, at least, as an ardent partisan would be apt to give—of even his adversaries' acts and motives. General Greene's refer to Southern incidents, and all are full of curious interest.

PRESIDENT REED TO GREENE.

Philadelphia, November 1, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I cannot but express the great pleasure in receiving such frequent marks of your friendly remembrance when so many and such perplexing scenes might well justify any seeming omission to your friends. My returns would have been more frequent but for the apprehension of their meeting with accidents; the instances have been so frequent this summer, and such unhappy dissensions have followed, that a more established character than mine in the world really had much to fear. I did intend to have availed

myself of Major Morris, but he came and left the City without my knowledge. Major Peirce, for whose acquaintance I am much obliged to you, will be a safe conveyance, and I am happy in the opportunity it affords to render you my sincere and affectionate congratulations not only on the happy prospects of affairs in Carolina as it respects the public, but on the well-earned and honourable estimation to which you rise, and gallant measures have raised you, not only in the eyes of America but of all Europe. A victory, often the result of accident, and gained sometimes contrary to the victor's opinion, (as you and I have known,) may throw splendour round a man for a moment, but can bear no comparison with that character which rises superior to difficulties, and by a systematical perseverance in brave and prudent measures, gains and secures permanent and solid advantages. The mists which envy, detraction, and error formerly endeavoured to raise have long since disappeared, and all seem willing now to acknowledge and do justice to your abilities and merit.

I confess the terms and circumstances under which you took that command were so critical that I believe your best friends had their fears, but it must now be considered a fortunate event. Your situation in the main army was a delicate one, and I verily believe a good man in it thought himself bound to treat you with less friendship than you deserved, or he felt, lest his own character should be lessened. The Carolinians consider you as their deliverer, and speak of you in terms which reflect equal honour on your merits, and their gratitude. I hope and trust they will give you some substantial proofs of it, for, my dear friend, a mind of the least providence cannot help looking forward with some degree of anxiety to an honourable settlement. It is, perhaps, not altogether wise and certainly not pleasant to anticipate inconveniences and perplexities especially of this kind, but I think I already observe so little disposition to attend to claims of this nature, that a less prudent man would occasionally advert to it. The spur of necessity has brought forward some arrangements favourable to the bulk of officers and to the privates, but I have ever remarked an indisposition in the Councils of America to listen to the claims of those officers who are more elevated, and what is equally strange, they seem to consider it a derogation of character for such officers to engage in lesser pursuits; how, therefore, are the necessary, much more the convenient, and still more the elegant arrangement in life of such characters to be supported? In other countries there are commanders of garrisons, towns, of provinces, pensions, and in case of high and signal services, public provision, equally honourable to the givers and receivers, but I fear nothing of this nature will be the reward of the American General whose best years and ripened abilities have been devoted to the public service. General Washington's situation, and especially his having no family, puts him above a want of this nature, but his case is a particular one not applicable to many of his officers, and yet it is probable the case may be applied. I confess I look forward to the situation of an American General after a peace with real concern. If he has a pro-

fession he must enter into it with every disadvantage, and once more revise all his studies, habits and even sentiments ; he must become active when he is entitled to ease, and while every other person in the community is blessing the hour of tranquillity, and commencing their political happiness, his miseries are just commencing ; mankind are pretty much alike in all countries and in all ages, and public ingratitude has been the complaint of every one. The services rendered are soon forgot when future ones are not to be required or cannot be performed, nay, such is the perverseness of mankind that they will often do a fresh injury to a meritorious character to furnish an excuse for the first injustice. I see nothing, my dear General, likely to exempt our countrymen from these imputations, but many things to confirm it. You have a considerable portion of life to come. You have a family who will look to you ; let me therefore advise you if honourable opportunities offer to avail yourself of them ; none but such as fall within this description would I recommend, nor would you accept. Depend upon it you will have no credit from your self-denial. If, therefore, in the first emotions of gratitude, the Carolinians offer you such proofs as I have described, let no false modesty prevent you embracing them. Nay, I am not clear whether you would not be justifiable and in the line of duty and policy to endeavour to bring them forward in some delicate and proper manner, engaged as you are, and surrounded by men of generous and disinterested feelings.

You would be exceedingly surprised and even incredulous at the changes which a few months have produced in this place, and I am told it is very much the case at Boston and other parts of New England. The sentiments which prevailed at the beginning of the contest, nay, the object seems wholly forgot. While the attainment of independence and free Government were doubtful, we seem to have viewed only the advantages of them, but now that they appear sure, we dwell only on the reverse of the picture, which gives a complexion to our general conduct, and I apprehend will be severely felt in a few years by those who have distinguished themselves most, and have been flattering themselves with being more valued for their services and sufferings. Whatever we may say, or whatever contempt we may throw on the assertions of Galloway and others, that a great majority of the people are in the British interest in sentiment and affection, I subscribe to it at least from New York downwards inclusive. It is by the activity, zeal, and bravery of the comparative few that many have been kept under ; the blunders and wretched management of our enemy have contributed largely : they have found them out at last, but it is now too late. However, the turn public affairs are apparently taking, if not directly in favour of the British interests, in favour of those who have ever been attached to them, convinces me that the sentiment is just, and that in a very short time the British interest will be the predominating interest, independency at the same time fully secured ; the thirst after office and power, and the success in obtaining them, evidently lead to this point, and will in a few

years, in my opinion, place the powers of America, as well general as state, in the hands of the Tories. The degenerate Whigs court them with assiduity as giving them strength. *Si Dii nequeunt, Acheronta movebunt.* The result of all this, my good friend, is to convince you of the propriety and policy of taking honourable measures to make yourself independent, if favourable opportunities offer, or if you are not so already equal to your wishes and views.

Our situation in a public view is truly brilliant, and I most heartily congratulate you on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. This event will throw a splendour on the character of General Washington, which after all his toils, cares, and disappointments, he truly deserves. After the affair of Saratoga, a brilliant victory, or such an event, seemed wanting to elevate him to his proper station in the public eye, and show him inferior to none of the distinguished military characters of America. I heartily rejoice in it on this account as well as others; it must also give him a singular satisfaction, as no virtuous mind can be insensible to public applause thus honourably obtained.

The incessant misrepresentations and calumnies with respect to myself and some unfriendly characters about him have raised some prejudices, of what nature I cannot tell, but this does not hinder my revering his character, and doing justice to his merits and services. May he long and happily enjoy the laurels he has acquired. He will, in time, probably find out his real friends from his simulated ones; if he does not, it will be his misfortune. It seems to be the general opinion that this event, added to your victorious progress, will bring on a general pacification this winter. Indeed I think the shock must be so great that the Minister will not be able to raise the supplies, as it was with difficulty he accomplished it last year, and only in the sure and certain hope of subjugating the Southern States, at least as far as the Delaware. The reduced force of the British Army, and the manifest despondency which prevails, seems to leave us nothing to fear, but I still hope it will not operate so as to neglect the necessary preparations for continuing the war. Our people are indeed very tired of it, though they have recovered from their losses in a surprising manner, and a very beneficial trade to the Havana has poured a great quantity of specie into the country; but they are still discontented, and it will not surprise me, if, when peace actually takes place, many who have formed extravagant opinions of the plenty, riches, ease and luxury which are to follow should find themselves most egregiously disappointed. However, it will be a happy event, which every good man must wish to see speedily accomplished.

With respect to our condition abroad, you will certainly have heard that Messrs. Laurens and Paine have returned, the former having successfully and honourably acquitted himself of his trust. There appears to be a strong subsisting enmity between what may be called Mr. Deane's friends, and Messrs. Adams, Dana, &c. Doctor Franklin is in Mr. Deane's interest, so far as his indolence and age admit his being concerned. Rivington has lately

published a number of intercepted letters from Mr. Deane to Mr. Duer, Mr. Morris and others; at first they were deemed spurious, but I am since informed that Mr. Duer acknowledges having received a former letter of similar import. It discloses a scene of iniquity at which I am told his own Junta would blush, and now give him up. This letter carries a strong appearance of his being in the British interest, as he advises, in cogent terms, the renewal of our connexions with Great Britain, and treats our *good and great ally* with much freedom. Amidst the other smiles of Providence, I cannot but think the detection of those wicked schemes, and the nefarious agents, none of the least; and yet strange as it is, it seems that shame and disgrace reach no farther than the party immediately detected. His friends, partners, supporters, and abettors, appear in public, unblushing, and join in the cry of infamy as cordially as if they had neither been in the counsel, or participation in the profits of iniquity. It is a melancholy proof what money, expectation of office, entertainment, good wine, and fear of offending great men, will do. In fact, my dear friend, it must be acknowledged, that if virtue and honesty are the only foundations for a Republican Government, we must greatly reform our manners, or change our Government, for we are certainly very corrupt for a young country. Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams are labouring very hard in Spain and Holland, but hitherto, with little success. France has indeed acted kindly and generously by us, but I fear gratitude and honour will be feebly opposed to Toryism and British prejudices. Indeed, they do not sufficiently discriminate; they are fostering some serpents in their bosom, who, when opportunity offers, will sting them to death.

As to our internal affairs, viz. Congressional government, there has a surprising revolution taken place. You formerly thought Congress assumed rather more dignity and authority than became them, but I assure you they are now sufficiently humiliated. The course of affairs has thrown them into a state of dependence not very compatible with the dignity of a sovereign power. It would add too much to this already tedious letter to enter into a detail of the events which have put us into our present state, but in brief it may be ascribed to the failure of public credit, the non-production of taxes, and consequent poverty of Congress, which was, indeed, truly abject and distressing; in this wretched extremity, it became necessary to appoint what I may properly call a pecuniary dictator. The qualities required were ability of mind, some money in hand, and a private credit for more. I believe I ought to have put the latter qualities first, for if Sully had been here without them, he would not have been thought of. Mr. Morris, who had been long pursuing a gainful traffic from which others were excluded by embargo and restrictions, — — — — — naturally presented himself, as combining the necessary qualities; but his terms were high, and at first blush inadmissible. He claimed a right of continuing in private trade, of dismissing all Continental officers, handling public money at pleasure, with many lesser privileges amounting to little

less than an engrossment of all those powers of Congress which had been deemed incommunicable, and which we have sometimes thought they exercised with rather too much hauteur. However, Mr. Morris was inexorable, Congress at mercy, and, finally, the appointment made with little relaxation in the original conditions, since which the business of that august body has been extremely simplified, Mr. Morris having relieved them from all business of deliberation or executive difficulty with which money is in any respect connected, and they are now very much at leisure to read despatches, return thanks, pay and receive compliments, &c. For form's sake some things go thither to receive a sanction, but it is the general opinion that it is form only. But it would not be doing justice not to acknowledge that humiliating as this power is, it has been exercised with much advantage for the immediate relief of our distresses, and that the public have received a real benefit from Mr. Morris's exertions. At the same time, those who know him will also acknowledge that he is too much a man of the world to overlook certain private interests which his command of the paper, and occasional speculations in that currency, will enable him to promote. It seems to have ever been a ruling principle with him to connect the public service with private interest, and he certainly has not departed from it at this time of day. His influence is also great, not to say irresistible, in the appointment of other offices not connected with his own, of which we have had recent proofs in the appointment of a Minister for Foreign Affairs, and that of the War Department, Mr. R. Livingston, of New York, having, after much opposition, been appointed to the former, and General Schuyler standing fairest for the latter. Mr. Pettit showed me your letter of about two months ago, very expressive of your partiality to me on this subject—but alas! you are little acquainted with the avenues of power and interest, or you would have spared your pen and paper. No, no, my good friend; great as your own merit, and your acknowledged services and sufferings, you must find another door if you wish to enter, how much less one whose public services never very brilliant, and now of an ancient date. However, the manœuvres were very diverting on this occasion. Contrary to my desire, and without my knowledge, my name was brought forward with some prospect of approbation. It was immediately observed that such an office should be the reward of continued and active field service, that there were divers characters extremely suitable, and in a short time yourself, General Lincoln, and General Knox were nominated, my name, in the mean time, agreeable to my wishes, being withdrawn. This point obtained, objections arose to you, but they were the objections of friendship to yourself, and regard for the country. To take you from the career of victory would be improper and injurious; to send a new officer, unknown to, and unconfided in by the country, would be wrong too; in short, it could not be in any view. General Lincoln was found to be too easy in his temper, not sufficiently a man of business, nor sturdy enough to reject importunity. General Knox, being at the head of a special department, and having acquired special professional knowledge, could not be spared. In this extremity, General Schuyler pre-

sented himself to view, and under apparent prejudices and ancient resentments, gained such a proportion of votes as will, most probably, in the event, place him in the office. This is Mr. Morris's doing, and wondrous in our eyes. Though the income of the office might, with good economy, carry you through the year, I confess I could not wish you an office which, with much less pretensions, I could not think of for myself. We both have too much spirit to submit to the shackles which in that case we must have put on. To depend on our immediate ostensible masters we should deem sufficient, but as things now are, we must be still further dependent on a real one, and who would probably make us feel dependence in more respects than one; it would be too grating to minds like ours. I say nothing of the whole appointments wearing so much the appearance of cabal, when at the same time you consider that Mr. Gouverneur Morris is the Financier's assistant, and censorious people say his director. Congress is evidently sunk from that consequence which I really think necessary for the general interest of America, and I am truly sorry for it, as though temporary advantages may arise from special exertions and extraordinary powers, they are not eventually beneficial to a free country, and every intervention between the people and the sovereign power established by them, is dangerous, not to say actually mischievous.

My term of office is expired, and I am now quite a private man. My knowledge of the affairs of this State might have been useful, and I should have thought it my duty to have given my services if it had been required in the line of the State, but it has not, so that I find myself in a situation more truly enviable, if peace and ease are to be envied, than I have been in for some time. I am pressed to go into Congress, but this I shall positively decline. I have not the least ambition or inclination, and can ill afford to give the public the few remaining years wherein I can be actively useful to my family. You will therefore probably find me, when you return, a private gentleman, pursuing my profession with activity and industry, but in whatever station, you will ever find me your sincere well-wisher and most affectionate friend. The ingratitude I have met with from the officers of the Pennsylvania Line, after many and signal services done them, has very much cooled my ardour in military matters, and the most unwarrantable abuse and slander in civil affairs has satisfied me a private station, if not a post of honour, is a post of comfort, which I have long earnestly wished, and now actually do enjoy. But self is a subject so interesting that when begun we seldom know when to leave off, and it is not fair I should tax you so heavily.

Your letters are too agreeable not to make me wish a continuance of them as you find time and leisure, for I really think there is something congenial in our turn and character, at least, I am willing to flatter myself it is so. May every happiness and success attend you, my dear General, most sincerely wishes

Your truly affectionate and obliged friend and humble servant.

LAFAYETTE TO REED.

Twelve Miles Stone, November 28th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,

When I received your polite letter of this day, I was just leaving the city, and I take the earliest opportunity to tender you my most grateful thanks for the expression of your friendship. The letter you entrust to me shall be most carefully forwarded. I am happy it is in my power to oblige you. I would be still happier, my dear friend, if I could properly express the affectionate regard which devotes me to you. I heartily thank you for your good wishes. I anticipate the pleasure of taking you by the hand at my return, and I do assure you, my dear sir, that while I have a proper sense of the many favours which this country has been pleased to confer upon me, and which, though they cannot exceed my attachment, have far surpassed my services, I am particularly proud of the esteem of such character as my friend General Reed. Adieu, my dear sir; I am happy once more to assure you of the affectionate regard I have the honour to be

Your most obedient, humble servant,

LAFAYETTE.

The surrender of Cornwallis virtually terminated the war; for though the enemy held possession of many prominent posts for some time longer, and the American army was kept in its cantonments, yet, in point of fact, all fears of adverse action were over. The great danger of America, in its social and political institutions, was in the collapse. No more dreary period of our history is to be found than the interval from the signing of the preliminary articles in November, 1782, till the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Its history, or rather the greater part of it, does not belong to this biography. The following letters from Greene show his opinions and the actual state of affairs under his own observation, and especially to the Southward. They are full, too, of genuine expression of affectionate friendship that never abated.

GREENE TO REED.

Head-Quarters, February 27th, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have postponed answering your very polite and friendly letter of the 1st of November last, in hopes to get leisure time to write you largely upon

several subjects. But I am so continually crowded with business that I see but little prospect; and for fear you should think me guilty of neglect, I have taken this opportunity, by Doctor Ramsey, to assure you of my friendship and attachment, in whatever walk of life you may be. You are now in the situation that I have been wishing for for years past; nothing would give me greater pleasure than to become the humble citizen. You know I am not very ambitious, and love domestic quiet. The ingratitude you have been treated with by a party in Philadelphia, and by some of the officers of the army, serves but to disgust me with public life, and as a lesson of the inconstancy of human creatures. The State of South Carolina have treated me very differently. They have voted me their thanks unanimously, accompanied with a vote vesting me with an estate of ten thousand guineas. No people, I believe, ever felt a stronger impulse of gratitude. Commissioners are appointed to make the purchase. This, with the shattered remains of my little fortune, will lay a foundation for a decent support in the decline of life. The measure is new in the politics of America, and it will soon become public. Please to let me hear what animadversions are made upon it, particularly by the delegates and people from New England.

Doctor Ramsey will tell you all the news in this quarter, and of the measures taken by their Legislature with respect to the Tories and disaffected. We are in anxious suspense for the news from Europe. England is obstinate; but if she can form no alliance, we must have peace. Four great events have taken place last year to lay a foundation for it: the advantages gained to the Southward, the fall of Lord Cornwallis, the exit of paper money without a convulsion, and the completion of the Confederation. The hopes of the Ministry rested greatly on each of those points, and therefore all coming together must distract the measures of Administration, and I am in hopes will ruin the Ministry. Should this happen, we shall have peace: but if they stand their ground, we shall have war; and I confess I think the latter much more probable than the former.

It is a long time since I heard from Philadelphia. The Commander-in-chief, I am told, spends the winter with you. Notwithstanding the prosperous train of our affairs in the Military Department, I am exceedingly distressed for the deplorable condition of the civil. The States appear to have a greater disposition to quarrel with Congress and those in authority under them than they have for affording their proportion of the national expense. Virginia is murmuring, and complains of partiality. The Assembly have left the Executive without the least power upon the greatest emergency. They have few or no men in the field, nor is there the least prospect of any considerable force. North Carolina is in much the same situation. They both appear like two great overgrown babies who have got out of temper, and who have been accustomed to great indulgence. So little aid does either of those States give us, that we cannot get on the public stores for the army, and such, too, as we are in the greatest distress for the want of. Was I to paint our true situation, you would think it deplorable. But we

have been so long accustomed to hardships and difficulties, that we keep up a good countenance. You know I am not subject to despair.

Please to remember me affectionately to Mr. Pettit and his family, and tell him I had not time to write you both. I beg you will introduce Doctor Ramsey to him, and I beg leave to recommend the Doctor to your civilities.

I am, with esteem and affection,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

N. GREENE.

GREENE TO REED.

Head-Quarters, Ashley River, July 18th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

As I love and esteem you, and wish you not to forget me, I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of writing you, although I have little to say. Since I wrote you before, General Wayne has had two considerable skirmishes with the enemy, in both of which he dispersed them, and gained great advantages. Preparations have been making for some time past for the evacuation of Savannah, and I expect it to take place every hour. Some preparations are also making in Charleston that has an appearance of an approaching evacuation, but it may be only to contract their works. I have had little hopes of the enemy's leaving the country since the defeat of the Count De Grasse, unless it should happen in consequence of the new Ministry in Great Britain.* This country requires repose, being ravaged from one end to the other, great part of which is chargeable to the Tories, who have been very numerous in this State and North Carolina. Our operations this year are as insipid as they were important the last. I cannot help feeling mortified at the change, but it is not in my power to help it. You at a distance may think something is amiss; but be assured all is and shall be done that our weak and distressed situation will admit. Indeed, our condition has been deplorable for want of clothing until within a few days. Nor has our situation been much more eligible in the article of provisions; what we have had being bad, and frequently without any. I suppose you've heard of the mutiny in the army. The symptoms first appeared in your Line, and soon communicated itself to the Maryland Line. I hung a sergeant and sent off four others, which totally put a stop to it; and never was there a greater change than has taken place among the troops in consequence of it. Not a murmur or complaint has been uttered since. I believe the first mutiny which happened in your Line originated in too much indulgence; and the froward spirit which arose from it had not been fully suppressed. I wish I may see no more of it. There is nothing like decision in critical situations. If you love me, write me, for I often feel oppressed. The Southern States appear generous towards me, much more than I had reason to hope or expect. However, I believe they feel some obligations to me.

* The administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, which had succeeded that of Lord North.

I wrote you from — — — — that South Carolina had voted me a letter of thanks accompanied with a present of ten thousand guineas; since which Georgia has voted me five, and North Carolina twenty-five thousand acres of land in the back country. I am told the land is good and the grant valuable. People that know it say the land will sell for at least 30,000 dollars.

Mrs. Greene joins me in respectful compliments to you and all our friends. I wish, if it was consistent with your interest and feelings, that you was again in public life, but be assured of my esteem and affection in whatever situation fortune may place you.

N. GREENE.

GREENE TO CLEMENT BIDDLE.

Head-quarters, September 1st, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

I don't recollect whether I ever answered your letter of the 3d of April, as I never keep copies of private letters, unless it is to persons of doubtful friendship. Captain Hutchins, who was the bearer of your letter, is greatly respected in the army. Poor fellow, he has been at death's door for a long time, but happily is now on the recovery. This climate is a trier of constitutions. Most of my family have been ill. Morris very much so. Pendleton has been down with a fever at times, and Pearce is now laid up with it in Camp. But Mrs. Greene, Morris, Pendleton, and Doctor Johnston, are gone to Kersan, one of the Sea Islands, one of the most healthy places in all this Country. Mrs. Greene has not had a fever, but she had some symptoms that were not a little alarming. I have been pretty healthy myself, and so has Burnet, until within a few days. The army is very sickly, but not more than is to be expected in this climate. We have one of the driest and most healthy positions to be found in this quarter of the world. The mortality is not great among the troops for the number sick. Indeed, the fevers of this country are generally more troublesome than dangerous.

Mr. Pettit writes me the trade of Philadelphia has suffered a great shock. I wish you may not be among the unfortunate. By his account, the trade of the place is almost ruined. If you were not rich before, I am afraid you are not so now. The Southern States have been generously disposed towards me. South Carolina voted me ten thousand guineas, Georgia five and North Carolina twenty-five thousand acres of land, said to be valuable, although it lays far back into the country. This interest may be of some consequence to me hereafter; at present I can derive no benefit from it.

Georgia, you have heard, was evacuated. General Wayne did himself great credit in the conduct of his command in that State. Preparations are making for the evacuation of Charleston, and indeed we are told New York is to be evacuated also. I wish it may be so; but I have my fears, however; by Sir Guy Carlton's and Admiral Digby's letter to General Washington, it would seem as if a peace is not far distant. I can place no confidence in villains, and therefore I hope we shall not be put off our guard.

To neglect the necessary preparations for war in expectation of peace, and be disappointed, would be no less ruinous than vexatious, but if we are prepared for war, we can make a peace with so much the better grace. I am afraid the Count De Grasse's defeat will give British pride a new spring, and the conditions they would agree to before, they will reject now. If they could only humble France, how they would torture us. Happily for America we are so fortunately leagued where it is both the honour and the interest of the nation to adhere to it. Was it otherwise, we might be left in distress, after all our efforts. I cannot but feel apprehensive for our fate, when I see such a want of a spirit of union among the States, generally, and among several, such factions and licentiousness prevail. These are evils which originate in our Constitution, and they are neither purged off by the virtue of the people or the wisdom of Government. I wish the manner of the people was more congenial with our Constitution. Where there is neither virtue among the people nor vigour in government, the wheels will move on heavily.

I am told a letter of mine, some time past, gave offence to Congress, wherein I portrayed the real situation of the army and the States, generally. When a man is largely in debt and his affairs in confusion, he is loth to look into them; but it is impossible to apply a remedy without a knowledge of them, and he that will not submit to the inquiry must soon be ruined. I am sure Congress has not a faster friend than I am, nor has few done more to promote their interest; but they had rather be flattered than informed, and I am too honest to do this, and therefore I shall never be one of their favourites. They may employ me because they find their account in it, but they don't love me, and therefore lay hold of every little circumstance to pick a quarrel with me. But I will not quarrel with them, nor will I give them any just ground to complain, either in matters of duty or respect. In time they will be convinced of the truth of my observations, and perhaps discover their prejudices.

George, Mr. Pettit writes me, is with Dr. Witherspoon. I am very happy, for I am a great admirer of the Doctor's plan of education. Please to make my affectionate compliments to Mrs. Biddle and Mrs. Shaw, to General Wilkinson and his lady, and Dr. Hutchinson and his lady. I am vexed to see the ingratitude shown to Governor Reed. It is almost enough to put one out of conceit of serving the public.

You will see so many publications of the death of poor Laurens that I shall not write you on the subject.

Yours, sincerely,

N. GREENE.*

* For this letter, hitherto unpublished, I am indebted to C. C. Biddle, Esq., of this City. Colonel Clement Biddle (Greene's correspondent) was a valued friend of Mr. Reed, and a fellow Constitutionalist. In the Appendix to this Volume will be found a biographical sketch of Colonel Biddle.

CHAPTER XVII.

1782.

Party feeling in Pennsylvania—Valerius and Mr. Dickinson—Mr. Reed's controversy with General Cadwalader—Mr. Reed resumes the practice of the law—Defeat of Count De Grasse by Rodney—Mr. Reed's letter on the subject—Greene's letter of 29th August, 1782, to Mr. Pettit—Wyoming Question argued at Trenton by Reed, Wilson, Sergeant, and Bradford—Letters from Trenton—Decree in favour of Pennsylvania—Mr. Reed's letter 14th March, 1783, to Greene—Peace proclaimed—Greene's letter 23d April.

THE adverse feeling towards the late President, to which General Greene alludes, was a curious feature of the times. Judging from the newspapers and pamphlets, the year 1782, which found Mr. Reed a private citizen, was more convulsed by party spirit, raging apparently without restraint, than any preceding period. The accredited newspaper organs of the two parties were filled with articles of extreme ferocity, directed at the respective leaders; and towards Mr. Reed especially, as one whose mere resignation of authority did not satisfy his enemies, the most intense animosity was manifested. There was no stint to anonymous defamation. On the side of the Constitutionalists quite as able partisans were in the field, using their pens offensively as well as defensively. Among them, one who wrote under the name of Valerius, and whose identity never was clearly ascertained, attracted great attention. The main object of his assault, made with great bitterness and eloquence, was Mr. Dickinson, who, in November, 1782, had been elected President by a small majority over General Potter, the Constitutional candidate. So effective did these attacks become, that Mr. Dickinson found it necessary to answer them, and to make an elaborate defence of his public conduct in reply to this anonymous assailant. It would be entirely aside from the aim

of these volumes to revive or minutely to refer to such controversies. They were in every way discreditable; they may be consigned to the oblivion which has nearly overtaken them, and may well be left for the congenial research of a class of men, happily very limited, who take a malignant pleasure in defaming the memory of our revolutionary patriots.*

Occasionally, controversies of a graver kind occurred at this season of diseased excitement. Of this description was one of a very painful nature, which, in the fall of 1782, Mr. Reed was involved in, with his former companion in arms, General John Cadwalader. Pamphlets of great acrimony were published on each side. These pamphlets are now before me, but it is most consistent with my feelings to the living and the dead, that the controversy should be dismissed with this incidental reference which its importance at the time seemed to require, and with the expression of the conviction that had the lives of the parties, and especially of him who made the assault, been prolonged, and opportunities such as we now have, been afforded, of collating testimony, and allowing transient resentments to subside, the fierceness of the controversy would have been succeeded by far more amiable feelings. But in less than three years from the date of the controversy, both parties were in their graves.†

* There is a class of men in this country who, either from hereditary antipathies, or from more disinterested and speculative malignity, take pleasure in defaming the patriot men of the Revolution. Books have been written and circulated of the most infamous character, with no other object than such disloyal disparagement; documents have been forged—whispers against the character of Washington himself and his nearest friends, have been stealthily circulated, and the slanders have found willing readers and listeners. To such resurrectionists of decaying calumny, the following striking passage from a recent pamphlet, has a very direct application.

“Who that knows anything of literary history, or of society, cannot recall a number of cases, where slander, however base and baseless, has been believed to be true, for no other reason than because it has never been contradicted? Nay, a calumny may have been buried in obscurity for centuries and millenaries, and at length some *literary truffle dog*, will hunt it out; and if it do but concern some great man, the vulgar will pelt it at his head.”—*Hare's Vindication of Niebuhr*, p. 57, London, 1829.

† General Cadwalader died 10th February, 1786. Mr. Reed in March, 1785.

Mr. Reed on retiring from the Presidency, resumed the practice of his profession, with all the zeal which impaired health and the long indulgence, if such it can be called, in political excitement, permitted. His resolution to abstain from active participation in politics, seems to have been firm, for, as appears from the correspondence, he was more than once tempted by bright promises of preferment.

On the 12th of April, Count De Grasse was defeated in the West Indies by the British fleet under Sir George Rodney, and the rumour which reached Philadelphia of this catastrophe seems to have produced strange results, which are thus described in a letter from Mr. Reed to Judge Bryan.

MR. REED TO GEORGE BRYAN.

Philadelphia, May 23d, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

On my return home, I carefully delivered your letter to Mrs. Bryan, who, with the family are well. I make no doubt but the alarming account of the defeat of the Count De Grasse has caused speculation with you as well as here. I do not recollect any report on which there was greater diversity of sentiment and more warmth; the capture of Charleston not excepted. Opinions were supported by considerable bets, or rather wagering policies, in which the Ville de Paris was insured, from a premium of ten to fifty per cent. Yesterday bets were even, as the belief of their defeat gained ground hourly, but this morning we have been somewhat relieved by an account (via Boston) from Martinique, which says that after a severe engagement, in which one French vessel was blown up, the Count pursued his voyage to Hispaniola, leaving the British fleet so much damaged as to disable any pursuit. Mr. M'Clenachan, I am told, would have lost 1500 or 2000*l.*, but has won 400 or 500*l.* Mr. Low and Mr. Bingham were the principal wagers on the truth of the report. Considerable sums have been made, as I am informed, by hedging, as the gamblers call it. I cannot say that I think these novel practices do us much credit as a moral or a commercial people, and certainly are not signs of that poverty and distress which many do, and more must soon feel, if some favourable alteration does not take place. Our river continues completely shut, not a single arrival since you left town. We hear very little from New York since Sir Henry Clinton's departure. Mr. Carlton seems to be paving the way before he makes any explicit overtures. You will see by the addresses in the papers and the resolves, &c., that appearances are not favourable to his system. The affair of Huddy continues undetermined, but it is reported the British

Captains at Lancaster have, agreeably to intimations from the War Office, cast lots who shall be the victim of retaliation, and that he is soon expected in town. I presume you have seen Clinton's letter to General Washington, which is hardly decent.* The Alliance frigate is arrived at New London, after an ineffectual attempt to get into our Capes; the Marquis is not arrived in her, but our politicians, who know much more of the matter than I can pretend to, say that he will soon come with a respectable armament under the command of La Mothe Piquet. If so, and things go tolerably in the West Indies, we may hope to add Sir Guy to the list of captured Generals. I find our militia have orders to hold themselves in readiness, but I cannot persuade myself they will be wanted for two or three months to come. It is proper to comply with the General's requisition in this respect, but I doubt very much whether they will be better prepared when enemies come than they would otherwise have been. Our internal affairs seem very quiet; the rage of abuse has subsided, at least for the present. Not even a whisper to be heard, except the murmurs of Oswald's Chronicle which in faint.

I have been applied to in order to attend a trial at Lancaster, and have given some expectations I would attend, but there is so great an uncertainty in bringing on causes, that I yet hesitate. The cause is against one Florio in ejectment for a plantation on Susquehanna near Middletown; if so, I shall probably have the pleasure to travel home with you. My compliments to the Chief Justice and Mr. Atlee, Mr. Sergeant, &c.

GREENE TO CHARLES PETTIT.

Head-Quarters, August 29th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you in my last that appearances favoured a total evacuation of this country. The passing of the two fleets to the Northward leaves every thing pretty much at a stand. The sanguine politicians of this quarter think there will be an attack upon New York. I am not of that opinion. By the accounts we got, the French fleet consisted only of fourteen ships of the line, and some few frigates, while the British amounted to near thirty

* Washington's letter 21 April, 1782, to Clinton, and the reply referred to in the text, will be found in *Sparks' Washington*, vol. viii. p. 264; and *Almon's Remembrancer*, 1782, Part I. p. 156.

A very striking account of the naval battle between Rodney and De Grasse, may be found in the Appendix to an anonymous work published in London in 1846, under the title of "The Age of Pitt and Fox." It is remarkable for doing full and willing justice to the heroism of the French, and especially of De Grasse.

sail. It would be madness for the French to expose their little fleet to such an unequal combat. If anything can warrant it, it is the form of the entrance of the harbour, but I confess I have no expectation of such a thing, and shall be agreeably disappointed if it happens.

I am at a loss how to interpret the intentions of the British administration. From present appearances, one would think they were going to quit the American War altogether, but whatever circumstances may favour this opinion, I fear it will not turn out so. Great Britain must be sensible by this that it is in vain to think of conquering this country unless they can humble France. To do this they will leave us to ourselves for a time, and bend their whole strength against the navy of France. If they should be so fortunate as to cripple that, they can easily renew their attack upon us, and they are pretty certain of finding us nearly in the same situation as they left us, at best not improved much. The want of a revenue, and still a greater want of a spirit of union among the States, and further coercive powers in Congress, together with the faction and parties prevailing among the people of every State, leaves the enemy much to hope, and us more to fear. They are not insensible of these things, and as the game is great, they will push it to the last extremity. I wish I may be mistaken, but I dread a returning attack. Our political indolence will leave us an easy prey. I was in hopes Congress would have made some effort to have got their powers enlarged, but they seem to be satisfied, nay, even angry, if you give them a description of their situation. I suppose they are not yet pleased with me for my letter of the 11th of March. I have a good mind to send you a copy of it.

Captain Hutchins, on his arrival at Camp, presented me with a little pamphlet on finance said to be written by a young man belonging to Lancaster. Whoever might be the writer, I am confident you was the dictator. There was not a single feature in it but that I knew the moment I beheld it to have originated with you, as the matter perfectly corresponded with the substance of our frequent conversations on those subjects.

I am vexed with the President of Congress for sending my letters for you to the post-office. This is perfect Dutch economy, and betrays so much littleness as hardly leaves me room to hope that minds of this cast can conceive and execute anything either great or noble. But as I am always running foul of their high mightinesses, although I don't believe they have got a better friend, I will be silent. I am too free and too honest in giving my sentiments ever to please a body who had rather be flattered than informed. I am sure few have done more to promote their glory than I have, and in spite of themselves I will continue to serve them with fidelity. I expect they will soon begin to be dissatisfied if their officers don't raise pay, and provide for an army without any support from government. I imagine this — — — — — had half its rise in the bounty of the Southern States, and I think it originated with some of our Northern gentlemen. Col. Carlington informs me Mr. — — was high on the subject, saying General

Greene might command their army, but he had no right to dictate to Congress. I am told, and never knew it until lately, that he was not a little offended that I had not nominated him for the War Department. I did not know that he had a wish of the kind, and I am sure if he had taken a view of himself, he could not have expected it.

I am very sorry to hear that trade is so much on the decline, but I am really unhappy at your losses. It was really cruel to lose a vessel after she had got so near home. Fortune has many capricious turns—we often think she is most bountiful where there is least merit, but her Ladyship will do as she pleases. I am perfectly satisfied in being further interested in the Congress. I will approve of everything you do in the way of business, and in whatever manner you enter me on the books, I will stand interested.

I am obliged to you for the confidential manner in which you communicate your situation, and you may be assured I will favour your wishes as far as lies in my power, without exposing myself to public censure, but, to avoid accidents and impertinent curiosity, I will not mention the thing hinted at. You will understand me from what is said. If Andrew should go into business, I would wish to unite him and Burnet in a house. I think Burnet has an excellent genius for trade, and appears fond of it. He has long had it in contemplation to engage in mercantile concerns, and should the enemy leave this country, he will make an attempt to get into business. I could render him some service. Here is a large field, and from the natural indolence of the natives, I think a young man of good understanding, with tolerable attention and great industry may accomplish something handsome.

I have not a line from Governor Reed for a long time. I suppose he is buried in business, pursuing wealth with avidity, being convinced that to have power you must have riches. His letters are both entertaining and instructing. The balance of the correspondence with me is so much against him that I don't wonder he is desirous of discontinuing of it. Although my friend Lincoln is in the Board of War, who I believe to be a very upright man, and much my friend, I cannot help lamenting Mr. Reed's not getting the appointment.* I am sure he would have added dignity to the office, and done justice to the business. I believe he will make much more money as a lawyer, but I am sorry the public should lose his knowledge and experience when men of abilities are so much wanted at the head of our affairs. I beg you will present me respectfully to him and his family, to Mr. Pettit and the young ladies, to Mr. and Mrs. Ingersoll, and I give you joy upon your prospects of becoming grandfather. Will you be able to dance sprightly after this event? I think you will puff a little like Mitchel, if not with fat, yet with the impression of old age. I should feel very grave was I within ten years of being a grandfather.

I shall take care this letter don't get into the post-office.

* General Lincoln was elected Secretary of War by Congress, October 30, 1781.

Unrelenting as was the hostility manifested by a portion of the press and its instigators to Mr. Reed, it did not prevent him from receiving high marks of public consideration. For a long series of years a dispute, well known to the historical student, had existed between Pennsylvania and Connecticut as to certain lands in the Wyoming settlement. It had been productive of bloodshed and much mutual discredit, and had involved the two communities more than once in relations of actual war. An appeal to a supreme authority was at last found necessary, and in the winter of 1782, a Committee of Congress, the only body having jurisdiction known to the Confederation, met at Trenton to make a final decree on these conflicting claims.* The Commissioners appointed to adjudicate this question, were William Whipple of New Hampshire, Welcome Arnold of Rhode Island, David Brearley and William C. Houston of New Jersey, Cyrus Griffin, Joseph Jones, and Thomas Nelson of Virginia. Connecticut was professionally represented by Mr. Root, Mr. Dyer, and William Samuel Johnson; Pennsylvania by William Bradford, Joseph Reed, James Wilson, and Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant. They were appointed by the Executive Council, in June, 1782. In December the Commissioners met, and the following letters, characteristic of the sanguine and earnest lawyer during the trial of his cause, were written at that time.

MR. REED TO GEORGE BRYAN.

Trenton, Tuesday, December 3, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

The agents for Connecticut have brought their testimony down to their Indian Deeds, but here is a lamentable failure; their best Deed was carried to England, and a Welsh attorney carried it down with him to that country, and there it stands pledged for a Counsellor Gardiner's debts; the other was brought here and has been lost since their arrival. Dyer having told us it was much blurred and blotted, but they had a fair copy. We, you

* There is no better illustration of the weakness of the Federal authority and its complex and awkward exercise than this affair. See Journals of Congress of 1782, 445, &c.

may be sure, have our suspicions; Sergeant just now asked him if he had looked in his breeches. I suppose you have heard the anecdote of the stockings. Yesterday they attempted to read the proceedings of the Delaware Company on the Susquehanna, that is, the work of the adventurers on the lands in dispute; this point is now before the court for consideration. Our cause at present stands fair enough. But I foresee it will be very tedious. Colonel Dyer will submit to no order; he speaks twenty times a day, and scarcely ever finishes one sentence completely. Dr. Johnson is the ablest man in the agency, he is a good speaker, and is a man of candour. Our court, pretty well as courts go.

When you write be careful as to opportunities, I mean don't trust suspicious hands.

P. S. Since writing the above, the Court determined not to admit the copy, and soon after the miserable original was found. What can we think of these folks?

MR. REED TO GEORGE BRYAN.

Trenton, December 13, 1782.

We have now got to summing up the cause, and I think without being too sanguine, we may justly expect a full decree in our favour. It was agreed to speak alternately. Mr. Root began making use chiefly of Trumbull's Pamphlet as a brief. It was very dull, and much said of the policy of taking off this grant for a new colony, &c. &c. We expected that each would take up two days, as the evidence is multifarious and prolix, but he finished in two hours, or a little more. Mr. Sergeant followed him, and though he evidently abbreviated, he took up Wednesday and Thursday. Mr. Wharton came up here to give evidence of the disclaimer of the Indians at Fort Stanwix, but the fear of offending the Delegates from Connecticut, was remarkably visible the whole time he was here. To-day Colonel Dyer goes on, and we expect much amusement, though little information; perhaps we may be surprised, as indeed we shall be, if he argues with ability or judgment. Thus we stand at present, and have now a reasonable prospect of dismissal next week, which is the least time that has ever been spent on such a cause. The dispute between New York and New Jersey, took up three months. We all grow impatient, but I do not mean to leave this till we have finished.

MR. REED TO MR. BRYAN.

Trenton, December 20, 1782.

I am to thank you for both your favours of this week. We have made but little progress since I wrote you last; Mr. Wilson could not be prevailed on to stay on this side of the river at night, and on Monday the storm brought in such a quantity of ice that it was impossible or rather very difficult to get over. We by this means lost three whole days; however, he is now proceeding; his argument is both laborious and judicious, he has taken much pains, having the success of Pennsylvania much at heart, both on public and private account. We now do not think of leaving this before next week, perhaps the latter end. One of our judges took sick last night, but we are told is fit for business this morning.

MR. REED TO MR. BRYAN.

Trenton, December 25, 1782.

I duly received your favour under cover to Mr. Spencer; I assure you Mr. M'Kean's nomination of me as successor to Mr. Livingston, is without my knowledge, and by no means agreeable. Mr. M'Kean had an opportunity to have obliged me, but as he did not make use of that, I presume this is by way of compensation; but I am better acquainted with the circumstances of things than I believe he imagines. I very well know how to estimate the value of his friendship. As soon as I return, which will be in a very few days, I shall put an end to the nomination. I do not apprehend that I have the least chance for such an office while present interests predominate; and if I could have it, I would not put myself under the control and within the dependence of a hostile Colossus, who not only bestrides all the other officers of Congress, but even Congress itself. The wild fire lighted up by Valerius will, I hope, be reduced to regular element, which will both warm and animate us. We must, if possible, keep it up.

We have last evening closed the arguments of our cause, and it is now literally sub judice. Dr. Johnson not being of the most robust constitution, was obliged to ask indulgence, which protracted his argument to three days, one day longer than it otherwise would have been. But our expectations were not answered. It was, to be sure, a miserable cause on the part of Connecticut, but his argument, instead of giving plausible colouring and superficial gloss, was full of palpable misquotations and assertions, open to

* Robert R. Livingston was Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He did not actually resign till June, 1783.

the most easy detection, and not altogether destitute of reflection upon the claim of Pennsylvania, as founded in ambition and avarice. This you will think extraordinary. He gave up the Indian title wholly, which was prudent, as it was a scene of the vilest fraud and grossest forgery. It was my lot to follow him, and he deprecated our vengeance. However, after what had passed, I did not think myself bound to much indulgence. I took some pains to reduce my remarks into a narrow compass for the sake of the time, and finished in one day, taking three hours before dinner and as many after. We have little doubt of a favourable decree. Decency and propriety require our staying here till the affair is finished; but we are all extremely impatient to return.

The notes of Mr. Reed's closing argument, embodying great research and thorough acquaintance with colonial and international law, have been preserved. The speech seems to have been in all respects worthy of his high professional position. The triumph of the Philadelphia lawyers was complete, and the decree of Trenton settled this ancient and harassing controversy in favour of Pennsylvania.

In connexion with this, the last incident of Mr. Reed's professional life, I must express regret at my inability more fully to illustrate his career and character as a lawyer. The dockets of the courts and his private papers show that he was in a large practice; and there are many incidental allusions in his correspondence to duties on the circuit and to heavy and engrossing professional responsibilities. He was a thoroughly educated lawyer; and the inference from such fragments of his correspondence on such subjects as I have examined is that he had all that readiness and facility in practice which thorough elementary study in the profession alone can give. There is no other memorial of his professional distinction before the public, or of his manner and powers as an advocate, than that which is contained in Mr. Rawle's slight, but most agreeable reminiscences of the Philadelphia bar in the olden times. He thus describes Mr. Reed:

"The powers of Reed were of a higher order. His mind was perspicuous, his perceptions quick, his penetration great, his industry unremitted. Before the Revolution he had a considerable share of the current practice. His manner of speaking was not, I think, pleasing; his reasoning, however, was

well-conducted, and seldom failed to bear upon the proper points of controversy. When he had the conclusion of a cause he was formidable; and I have heard an old practitioner say that there was no one at the bar whom he so little liked to be behind him as Joseph Reed.”*

The following letters have reference to the spring of 1783.

MR. REED TO GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia, March 14th, 1783.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Major Burnet's return reminds me of the duty and rights of our friendship, and what I owe you for the various acknowledged marks you have given me. I hope you will not suppose it to have proceeded from the least decline of regard. On the other hand, I have enjoyed every addition to your fame and fortune with the truest sympathy, and if I could have wrote you anything from hence that could have given you pleasure, I am sure I should have done it, but my letters would have been a detail of wearisome complaints of public ingratitude and private calumny, and why should I disgust friends, who with the best dispositions in the world, could not relieve me. The strange turn that affairs took here, about two years

* Address before the Associated Members of the Bar of Philadelphia, by William Rawle, Esq., 1824; *Hazard's Register*, vol. x. p. 290.

Mr. Reed was counsel for the Pine Street Presbyterian Church, in the once celebrated but now forgotten litigation with the Market Street Congregation. On the minutes of the Pine Street Church, which I have been permitted to examine, is the following entry :

“Tuesday evening, December 9th, 1783.

“The Committee met at the Meeting-house: present, William Henry, Elias Boys, Derriek Peterson, Samuel Lowrey, Ferguson M’Ilvaine, John M’Culloh, Francis Lee, and Samuel Duffield.

“A letter from Joseph Reed, Esq., was laid before the Committee, thanking them for the pew which had been kept for him, and at the same time informing them that, as he was about to leave the city for some time, he thought it proper to give up the pew to be applied to the use of the congregation, at least until his return. Upon which it was unanimously agreed by the Committee that the pew should remain for the use of Mr. Reed on his return; and they appointed Mr. William Henry, in the name of the Committee, to present their best wishes to Mr. Reed for his safe voyage and return to Philadelphia, and also to assure him that the Committee of Pine Street retain the most grateful sense of his former friendship and good offices, and that his pew shall be kept for him until his return, when it will give them much pleasure to see him occupy it again.”

ago, and which has, in a good degree, continued ever since, made me more a misanthrope than I thought was in my nature, and sometimes put me out of conceit of the world, my friends, and even myself. If there was anything which gave me particular pleasure it was the progress you were daily making in the public esteem, and the grateful return of the people, among whom you are, and who, at least for the present, seemed formed of different materials from those with whom I had to do. Having so happily steered your bark into port, I take it for granted you will be very careful how you trust it again to the popular tide of public favour, with whose ebbs and flows you are not altogether unacquainted.

It would be too tedious to enumerate one half of the unkindnesses I have met with in this State, and from Congress you know I never had anything else to expect. They are composed of pretty much the same materials, and under an influence so predominating and hostile, that my principal consolation was that I have had very little concern with them. Mr. Morris has been for a long time the *Dominus Factotum*, whose dictates none dare oppose, and from whose decisions lay no appeal; he has in fact exercised the power really of the three great departments, and Congress have only had to give their fiat to his mandates. I believe things have gone better, they certainly could not go worse than before; but we are like to be at sea again, shortly. The newspapers, which I presume Burnet will carry, contain his letters to Congress, which will probably be the subject of as much speculation with you, as with us.* Your old acquaintance Paine is a hireling writer pensioned with £300 per annum, payable by General Washington out of the secret service money.† In short, the changes of this nature have been so many, and so great, that they would greatly surprise you. We have been for some time flattering ourselves with the prospect of a speedy peace, for which the inhabitants of this county of all complexions and characters are extremely anxious. It appears that so far as regards America, it is settled, but on provisional articles consistent with our treaty with France. But it is not clear to me that a real or supposed obstinacy on the part of our ally will not greatly diminish our affections and zeal. We do not want precedents for it, where the obligations have been equal, perhaps superior. It appears to me the British have for once played the game of negotiation with tolerable address—if they make peace they attain their end—if peace fails through our allies, we shall be very cold in the prosecution of a war, no

* This must refer to Mr. Morris's Letters of the 24th January, and 26th February, 1783, resigning his office of Superintendent of Finance.—*Sparks's Diplomatic Correspondence*, vol. xii. p. 325.

† Paine was employed not by Washington, but by Mr. Morris and Mr. R. Livingston.—*Diplomatic Correspondence*, xii. 95; *Washington*, viii. 345. The object, it may be observed, was, in every way, laudable. Paine's letters, in the Morris MS., are very curious.—*North American Review*, No. cxx. p. 40.

longer necessary for the establishment of our claims. The very great failure of the supplies demanded by Congress, only 400,000 dollars out of 8,000,000, must be an alarming circumstance to ourselves, as well as to our friends, but what is equal to all the rest in the universal discouragement of the Whigs, who find themselves impoverished and even sunk in credit by the new and rising interests. Their disappointment and chagrin are inexpressible; almost all new appointments, either State or Congressional, run in that line, so that most of those who were much distinguished, and known in times of our greatest difficulty, are now in private stations, and the few are daily falling in. Our army is this winter on the Hudson's River, not numerous, but well disciplined, and of pretty appearance in clothes, arms, &c, in very bad temper for want of pecuniary supplies, which have been sadly slender indeed. Old M'Dougal has been negotiating all winter, but I believe with very bad success.

For my own part, I am, to all intents and purposes, a private gentleman, having made a serious resolution, which I hope to have grace enough to keep, never more to be tempted out of the line of private life, wherein I find profit enough to gratify moderate desires, and a luxurious ease and independence of mind. If you come and see us, as I hope you will, I shall be found very poor, with a great many enemies, chiefly political, but much happier than I have been for many years, and if I am a competent judge, a much cleverer fellow than when President of Pennsylvania, with numerous worshippers. You must now have a good deal of leisure; I hope you will employ a part of it to tell me what are your plans. Will you be a planter with a retinue of slaves? or will you come Northward to enjoy more ease but less splendour? If you have the least particle of desire to be Secretary at War, I am sure it is at your service. Lincoln is going to be Governor of Massachusetts. Philadelphia has much gaiety, but little friendship or public virtue. However, you will always find a few old friends, who are fastened with hooks of steel, not to be rusted with time or to be broken or bent with adverse scenes. I have taken the liberty to send you a pamphlet, which I wrote midst the engagements of private business; the subject I dare say will surprise you, but I hope you will excuse the freedom I have taken with you; it was, in some degree, necessary, for we think of you as highly as in Carolina, and if we can borrow a little ray of credit, we think we may do it, as you can so well spare it. I need not tell you that you have our daily good wishes, as well after dinner, as otherwise, and however, in some cases, they may be mere compliments, with you they are real effusions of genuine regard and affection. Tell Mrs. Greene we remember her with pleasure, and long to see her. Adieu, my dear General, may you be as happy as you deserve.

Ten days after this letter was written, news was received in a letter from Lafayette of a General Peace, and on the 23d April, Greene writes:

GENERAL GREENE TO MR. REED.

Head-Quarters, April 23d, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

Major Burnet has just arrived, and sets off again immediately for Philadelphia. I have just a moment to salute you upon the joyful news of peace, and the full establishment of our Independence. I thank you for the pamphlet you sent me. I had read it before, and have the pleasure to assure you it is much admired. Everybody reads it with pleasure and conviction. I wish I had been at Philadelphia; I would have given you all the support my little influence might have had. I am better acquainted with the history of your conduct than any other person. — — — Indeed I think Philadelphia has something infatuating in its air. No character escapes abuse, and the innocent as well as the guilty are all arraigned as party or spleen directs. Good God! what will this lead to. I would sooner be an honest ploughman than a public officer upon such terms. Distrust and jealousy, in my opinion, is just as baneful in Republican Governments as they are salutary in Monarchies. Republics as naturally tend to anarchy and want of confidence as Monarchies do to despotism, and an abuse of public confidence. No Republic was ever destroyed for want of jealousy, but most or all have been ruined by it. Jealousy and distrust is as ruinous to a spirit of union, which is the only foundation of national strength, as poison is to the health of the constitution. The States are jealous of Congress, and the army of both. Everybody must see this cannot last long without producing what every good man would wish to avoid. Whether Peace will have a good or bad effect upon the politics of the day is difficult to determine. We must wait for time and further experience to unfold what human foresight cannot penetrate. I am in hopes to be to the Northward in the course of a couple of months or less. The spirit of the people here lead to an almost entire independence of Congress, and I fear this disposition will lead to an overturn of the present form of Government. The genius and spirit of the people are much better suited to Monarchy than Republican forms of Government, and the whole country is split into parties and factions, and they are growing more and more violent every day. Those at the head of Administration are weak and jealous of their own consequence. Respect imposed like a tax will always be paid with the same kind of reluctance. No sooner was the enemy gone than those in power began to feel jealous of the army. New difficulties were created daily in obtaining supplies, until at last we could get nothing at all. This has obliged us to go upon Continental credit, and if this should fail we must starve or feed ourselves by force. I want a long talk with you. I cannot write with the same facility you do. If I could, I would say many

things. Remember me affectionately to all friends, and Mrs. Greene joins me in affectionate regards to you. Present me to Mr. Pettit, as I shall not have time to write him, having already detained the despatch-boat half an hour.

Yours, sincerely,
N. GREENE.*

* In the Appendix to this Volume will be found a series of unpublished and interesting letters from Greene to Otho H. Williams.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1784—1785.

Revolt in Pennsylvania—Congress retire to Princeton—Decline of Mr. Reed's Health—His last visit to Europe—Doctor Witherspoon's Mission for Princeton College—Greene's Letter to Lafayette—Lafayette's Letter in 1824—Arrival in London—Correspondence with Mr. Adams at the Hague—Mr. Reed's Letter to General Greene—Affairs in Great Britain—To Mr. Adams, February, 1784—The Earl of Buehan—His Visit to America—Mr. Gerry's Letter—Arthur Lee—Greene's Letter 14th May, 1784—Henry Laurens—Mr. Reed's Letter to William Bradford—Mr. Reed's Return to America—Illness and Death.

THE summer of 1783 was characterized by entire tranquillity, only disturbed by a new and outrageous mutiny of a portion of the Pennsylvania recruits, which obliged Congress to retire in great alarm to Princeton. So far as we can form any judgment from the letters addressed to him by his friends in Congress, Mr. Reed was an anxious observer of the scene before him, and felt deeply the new dishonour which was thus cast upon his State.

His career was, however, now nearly run, and it was very manifest that disease, the fruit of unceasing mental anxiety, had made deep ravages in Mr. Reed's bodily vigour. During this year he was attacked by fainting fits, which had become very alarming, and which, attended as they were by other symptoms, indicating a general breaking up of his constitution, rendered a change of scene and air absolutely necessary. Health and a bodily frame naturally feeble, were crushed by the exposure and anxieties he had undergone. Mr. Reed had also some business relations connected with a land company, known as the West Jersey Company, which rendered it desirable that he should visit Europe. On the 20th of December, 1783, he sailed from Philadelphia for

England in the ship *Washington*, Captain Richard Dale, accompanied by his mother-in-law, Mrs. De Berdt, and his eldest daughter. Dr. Witherspoon sailed in the same vessel, he and Mr. Reed being associated in a mission to procure subscriptions on behalf of the College at Princeton.*

* Mr. Reed was a Trustee of Princeton College from 1781 till his death.

Extracts from the minutes of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, October, 22d, 1783. It was represented that the principal object of the meeting was to consider of, and adopt means for repairing the funds of the College, which had been so greatly injured during the late war.

It appearing that the necessities of the institution could not admit of any further delay, and that the favourable dispositions of the people of Europe towards America, afforded a promising prospect of supplying them, by applying to their generosity : Resolved, that a mission be sent thither as soon as possible, for the purpose of soliciting benefactions for the College. Dr. Witherspoon and General Reed were requested to undertake the mission, to which they were pleased to consent.

Ordered, that a commission be made out to these gentlemen for the above purpose, and that the seal of the corporation be annexed to it, leaving them to execute the object of the mission in all points, in such a manner as shall appear to them to be most expedient.

General Reed was pleased to offer to the Board to serve them in England without any expense to the Corporation. Ordered, that the thanks of the Board be presented to General Reed for this generous proposal.

Resolved, that the Rev. Mr. Duffield, and Messrs. John Bayard, Jonathan Bayard Smith, and Isaac Snowden, or any two of them, be a committee to correspond, and to transact all business on behalf of the corporation with the mission in Europe.

The committee appointed to prepare the copy of a commission to Dr. Witherspoon and General Reed, produced the draught of one, which was agreed to, in the following terms.

The Trustees of the College of New Jersey, in North America. To the Honourable and Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D., President of the said College, late Member of the Honourable Continental Congress, and Representative in the General Assembly of said State. And to the Honourable Joseph Reed, Esq., late President and Commander-in-chief of the State of Pennsylvania, Adjutant-General of the Army of the United States, a Member of the Continental Congress, and one of the Trustees of the said College. And to each and every of you, greeting :—

Whereas the College of New Jersey was founded by private liberality for the promotion of religion and learning, and had, by the blessing of Heaven, arisen to an eminent degree of reputation and usefulness before the late unhappy war; but being occupied as barracks by the contending armies, its library and philosophical apparatus destroyed, the funds for the support of the professors and masters, in consequence of the ravages and events of the war, sunk and almost annihilated, the very existence of this benevolent and useful institution is become doubtful,

Mr. Reed, always sanguine, anticipated the speedy restoration of his shattered health. His friends, who knew the value of his life to his country and his helpless family, looked forward to the experiment with less cheerful solicitude. General Greene's active friendship made him watchful and attentive to the last. Just before sailing, Mr. Reed received a packet of letters to Greene's Continental friends—to Lafayette, Rochambeau, and D'Estaing, from which, as a specimen, the following is selected.

GREENE TO LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, November 9th, 1783.*

DEAR MARQUIS,

This will be handed to you by my good friend Governor Reed, whose merit and active zeal you are perfectly well acquainted with. Nor can you

unless some certain and effectual relief can be obtained from the friends of virtue and literature, who have not been exposed to such dreadful calamities. For these reasons, and confiding in your abilities, character, and zeal for the said institution, we have authorized and appointed, and by these presents, do authorize and appoint you, and each of you to receive from all public bodies, and well-disposed individuals, such benefactions as they may be pleased to make for the purposes aforesaid, of which you will render to us a due and regular account. And we do hereby recommend you, and each of you to the notice of all generous friends of religion and learning, in every part of Europe which you may visit, for the benevolent purposes herein contained.

Given under the hand of his Excellency, William Livingston, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-chief said State of New Jersey, and President of our Board of Trustees, and under the corporate seal of our said College, at Princeton, this 22d day of October, and in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

This mission in behalf of the College failed, as might have been expected in the existing state of feeling in Great Britain.

* These letters never were delivered, Mr. Reed's health preventing him from visiting the Continent. On Lafayette's visit to the United States in 1824, he wrote to Mr. Reed's son, the late Joseph Reed, Esq.

New York, September 21st, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,

I can at last anticipate, with some certainty, the time when I will have the pleasure to see you in Philadelphia. My first plan had been to leave New York, on my way to the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, soon after the 15th; when several delays, not depending on me, and the necessity to fulfil some engagements up the

be ignorant of the ungenerous measures which have been taken here to lessen his public estimation. Every man who has the pleasure of his acquaintance must feel an honest indignation at the unmerited treatment he has met with, and a pleasing satisfaction that his abilities will triumph over party and faction.

He is going to Europe, and has in contemplation to spend some time in France. I am persuaded you will take a pleasure in rendering everything as agreeable to him as possible; and as he is perfectly well acquainted with the politics of America, I beg leave to refer you to him for everything of this sort on this side of the water.

Present me most respectfully to all my friends in France, and believe me to be, with esteem and affection,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

N. GREENE.

The Marquis de Lafayette.

Mr. Reed arrived in London in January, 1784, and remained there till the following summer, his increasing bodily infirmities preventing him from visiting the Continent. How different the scene seems to have been, how changed the relations of government and individuals, and how painfully he was struck with it, is apparent from the letters which he wrote home and to his friends in Europe. They tell their own tale of altered feeling very plainly; nor are there any in the whole of his extensive correspondence more interesting than these which in this new scene, sinking, too, as he felt himself, rapidly into the grave, he wrote to his confidential friends. There is in them the same grace and ease of diction which characterized all he wrote. They, with such of the answers as have survived, are inserted in the order of their dates.

North River, brought me to Albany and Troy. I returned in haste, expecting to set off to-day or to-morrow at farthest; but the Jersey gentlemen wished to have two days previous notice, and I understood my Philadelphia friends objected to my arriving on Saturday; so that this time the postponement came from the quarter where I was going. It was my duty to conform to their intentions; and it has been settled I should have the very high gratification on next Monday to revisit the city of Philadelphia. Happy I would have been there to embrace your dear father, my excellent friend; but I have, amidst my enjoyments, many sad feelings of mourning to experience. The sight of the sons is a consolation to my heart. Receive, my dear sir, the affectionate sentiments of your sincere friend,

LAFAYETTE.

MR. REED TO JOHN ADAMS.*

London, January 30th, 1784.

SIR,

Considerations partly of a private nature having brought me to this Kingdom, I take the very first moments to present your Excellency my most respectful regards, and to regret that the length of my voyage has deprived me of the opportunity of doing it personally, as I am informed you have left the City very lately. I also take this occasion, through our respectable friend, Mr. Laurens, to forward a packet which our friend Gerry, with whom I spent the last day in America, entrusted to my care in so special a manner that I feel myself particularly happy in forwarding it so as to insure its safe arrival, (very uncommon accidents excepted.) As I doubt not he has communicated more perfectly than I can pretend to do the occurrences of America deserving your notice, it would be superfluous to repeat what he has said so much better. But as even a repetition of pleasing circumstances is not wholly ungrateful to those who feel for the public as you do, I think I may venture to assure you that the American Union has been strengthened rather than weakened by the events of the last summer. The removal from Philadelphia, and the prohibitory restrictions passed here, have contributed to this in an eminent degree, and substituted a new bond of union to that which the Peace and a cessation of the influence of common danger had in some measure dissolved. Its operation in America has very much alarmed those who, though their bodies are there, have hearts yet in Great Britain. They have, through our public papers, treated Congress with some indecent abuse; but it is rather the ebullition of disappointed local party than the sense of the people. The operation of these events is also perceptible on the state of our funds; and we had, when I left America, more favourable prospects of their establishment than at any period for twelve months past. General Washington passed through Philadelphia about the 15th of December, on his way to Annapolis, where (to use his own expression) he intended to leave his coat and cockade.

Dr. Witherspoon also arrived in the same ship, but not on any public political business. He prays me to present his particular respects; and if we can supply any information, or in any respect be useful to you, you will please to command us without reserve, pointing out the channel of conveyance which your own discernment and better acquaintance with the country will suggest.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, which I may with the utmost justice assure you America feels for your person and services, permit

* Mr. Adams was then at the Hague, whither he had returned from Paris during the preceding summer.

me to add my own in a particular manner, and believe me, with very great truth and regard, dear sir, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant.

JOHN ADAMS TO MR. REED.

The Hague, February 11th, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

Your kind favour of the 30th ult. was delivered to me last night, together with the packet which our friend Mr. Gerry committed to your care. You give me great pleasure by the assurance that the removal from Philadelphia and the prohibitory restrictions passed in Great Britain have strengthened the American Union. The authors of those restrictions depended upon our divisions, and expected to increase them. I thought they would be disappointed, and am very glad to learn that they are so.

The establishment of funds for the payment of our debts seems to be the most necessary object of the public attention at present. I am sorry to inform you that the want of it has had very important ill effects in Europe, and has entirely suspended our public credit in this republic.

General Washington's retreat is the completion of his character, the greatest our country ever produced. She will never want a greater. A succession of such will insure her felicity and prosperity. May he, however, live, and be again our great Pillar, if we should have another war. But, my friend, is the next generation to produce such characters? Are those moral sentiments and that education which produced such men to be preserved, or are they in danger? Are the eyes of the people to be fixed, as they have been, upon virtues or upon ribbons?

Let me beg of you, Sir, to present my friendly regards to Dr. Witherspoon, to congratulate him on the delicious opportunity he has of seeing his friends in Europe in peace, after the fatigues of a service in which he has acted a very great and meritorious part. I feel an affection and veneration for such men, that will never wear out. If the Doctor or yourself should find it consistent with your affairs to make an excursion this way, it would make me very happy to receive you at the Hague. Congress in May last resolved to send a commission to Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay and me, to make a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain, but no such authority has arrived. I am much in the dark about their intentions in this respect and some others; if the Doctor or you could inform me, you would oblige me.

Among your ancient acquaintances and correspondents in England you will have an opportunity of undeceiving many persons, and some of high rank. These ought to have the utmost confidence in your relations and judgments, as they have had a long experience of your being in the right, and themselves in the wrong; but there seems to be an utter incapacity of comprehending the truth respecting America. They go on from generation

to generation believing every false and discrediting every true account. Nothing is necessary after a thousand experiences of their being deceived, but the trouble of inventing a new chimera to obtain afresh their confidence.

You may address letters to me at the Hague, or under cover to Messrs. Wilhem and Jan Willink, merchants at Amsterdam.

MR. REED TO GENERAL GREENE.

London, Feb. 12th, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I arrived safe after a tolerable passage, and though I have not enjoyed that perfect health I could have wished, I hope I shall soon have reason to speak more favourably.

The affairs of this country are so connected with ours that whatever we may wish or feel towards them, they must affect us. I find we have flattered ourselves too much in the belief of returning cordiality, and also indulged too much vanity in supposing that our conduct in the war, and final success, have created sentiments of respect and esteem. It is not so. The war was a popular war, and only ceased to be so when all hope of final success ceased. Of course the real sentiments of the people are no otherwise changed than as some partial interests of commerce, and very particular connexions, may operate favourably to America. But the Court and its party, the army, the navy, the clergy, and, in short, the general class of gentry, find the pride of old England so mortified by the issue of the war, that they cannot speak of the country and its inhabitants in any other dialect than that of rebellion. False reports of our disunion, ill-treatment of their adherents, and, in short, every other unfavourable sentiment.

Their own affairs are in great confusion, and if they should bring about a dissolution of the Parliament, it is hard to say where and how it may end. Rising up and lying down, we ought to congratulate ourselves on our separation. We can now at a distance contemplate these objects as matters of speculation, which we must have shared as of intimate concern.

In matters of trade, they seem to be determined in their principles to treat us fully as a foreign nation, and it will happen in this, as the War, that nothing but feeling and dire necessity will convince them of their error. In the mean time goods are going out to a very great extent, far, far beyond our necessities or means of payment.* Should Mr. Pitt continue, which, at present, seems most probable, it will be happy for both countries; his sentiments are liberal, and views extensive. We stand very low in France, and

* There is among Mr. Reed's papers an imperfect draught of a very interesting essay on the commercial relations and policy of the two countries. It is curious in its illustration of what was then regarded as the range of American adventure in the West. It is published in the Appendix to this Volume.

not very high in Holland. Almost all the French merchants connected with America are ruined, and they speak of us all with very great freedom. I find few of our people go there, and those who do, come back much disgusted. Our intercourse with them declines daily.

I am impatient to hear from America on the return of Mr. Morris's bills bottomed on the Dutch Loan, which meets with unexpected difficulties. It is a prevailing opinion throughout Europe that our governments and public affairs are in very great confusion. Would you suppose the riot at Philadelphia last summer had a very great, indeed a most capital effect upon our affairs here, but the fact is certainly so, and if the Dutch Loan should fail, we must ascribe it in some degree to that event. I observe I have spoken of Mr. M.'s bills as returned. I should, perhaps, have said noted, though I think the fact is that some of the bills of that connexion have been returned, founded on the Dutch Loan. This is a matter of so delicate a nature, and coming from me, I must commit it to your well-known prudence. In consequence of a hint from you, I sounded some persons here on the probability of procuring some advances of money on improving American estates in Carolina, but it was such a cold scent I found it would not do. Reasons political and commercial were started without number. After what I have said, you will suppose I do not find this country very agreeable. The character of an American officer, either in civil or military line, is far from drawing respect; the latter would do well to leave his uniform behind him, and the other his official distinction. The two officers who came here on account of the mutiny, wearing their uniforms, were insulted in the streets. This did not happen from their particular conduct, because it could not be known to the mixed multitudes, but merely from what was called their presumption in wearing a rebel coat.

Since the above, a compromise has taken place between Messrs. Pitt and Fox at the expense of Lord North, who retires with a good grace, probably with a title and pension.

MR. REED TO JOHN ADAMS.

London, February 21, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I was duly honoured with your favour of the 11th inst., which I communicated to Dr. Witherspoon, who joins me in reciprocating every mark of your polite and friendly attention, and in expressing our very cordial acknowledgments.

The establishment of our funds in America, though long delayed and occasionally interrupted, will, I flatter myself, take place this winter, at least so far as to establish the impost by authority of Congress confirmed by the States. How far the revenue will be faithfully collected, and the laws duly executed, remains to be seen. Having found so much difficulty to check the intercourse with the British during the War, it is to be feared

the spirit of smuggling too much predominates in America, and that a competition for the trade between different States may enfeeble the collection. As a sumptuary regulation it would now be very beneficial to the country, for I am sorry to say, my dear sir, the appetite for European, and, especially, British manufactures and imports, is much too strong for our weak digestion. We neither want nor can we pay for the quantities which this kingdom is pouring forth in the most lavish profusion. In this view, the suspension of our European credit may not be so great a misfortune as may be apprehended. The good will of Great Britain seems to be manifested in America in no other mode than giving her unlimited credit, from which I fear both countries will suffer; there it will check industry, and promote dissipation, and end in loss and complaint here. The morality of America, and the education on which it must be founded, have not yet gained that vigour which we could wish. The best regulated armies are poor schools for moral virtue. Our officers are scattered over the whole country, and will, of course, influence its manners in a considerable degree. Their virtues, though great, are of a different species. It is impossible to say too much of their perseverance, patience and bravery. They have created an order among themselves which has occasioned a variety of sentiment. We hope, in this instance, virtues and ribbons may be inseparably blended.

With respect to a commission for negotiating a treaty of commerce with this kingdom, Dr. Witherspoon and myself both think it was the general opinion there, that what had been sent as instructions, connected with former powers was sufficient; but as to my own part, it was only a general idea taken up in conversation, the subject never having been spoken of authoritatively.

The little observation I have had in this City affords but very faint hopes of removing any prejudices against America, if my own abilities were much more equal to such a task. They seem to labour under the insuperable curse of never profiting by experience in anything which respects that country. There must be a capacity to receive information, and a spirit to improve it, before they learn their true interest. I confess I find myself much disappointed and deceived in my opinion of their conciliatory spirit. There is certainly a very great fund of bitterness towards America to be done away before we can meet with a general cordiality. Most of the gentlemen of America are returning thither with these sentiments, and will discourage the intercourse. If it is not improper, I should be happy to learn what prospect there is of the payment of Mr. Morris's bills. At least, I hope you will excuse my freedom, when I add that a motive beyond curiosity influences me. By letters just received from America, I find that on the 18th December Congress made up six States, and single members from some others, so as to expect a Congress to form immediately. If anything important should occur, I shall have great pleasure in communicating it, and shall be extremely happy to be honoured with your occasional favours.

It would appear from the following letter that its eccentric

writer, with whom Mr. Reed seems to have been well acquainted, seriously contemplated a permanent settlement in America.

THE EARL OF BUCHAN TO MR. REED.*

Edinburgh, April 16th, 1784.

SIR,

I arrived here on the 11th, and have been hitherto so much occupied that till this moment I could not find a moment to express the pleasure I received at London from your agreeable company and the desire I have to cultivate your acquaintance with that of your countrymen who resemble you, and those whom I had the happiness to meet with at London.

I have determined to cross the Atlantic, and at present my intention is to place the foot of my compasses in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and afterwards to deliberate concerning the purchase of new lands.

I have mentioned these intentions to several persons connected with North America, and I wish to be directed by those who are best acquainted with the country. My wish was to sail from Clyde this spring, and to reconnoitre in person; whether I shall be able to make this out must depend upon circumstances, *but as I have made up my mind on the subject in general*, so I should be glad to be directed by those who are best able to give me information. I do not mean to import *Peerly* manners or to assume *Peerly pretensions*; I wish to be an instrument to promote the happiness of a country and of a people, whose just cause I have openly espoused since

* Sir Walter Scott's Diary, 20th April, 1829, has this entry :

"April 20.—Lord Buchan is dead, a person whose immense vanity, bordering upon insanity, obscured, or rather eclipsed, very considerable talents. His imagination was so fertile, that he seemed really to believe the extraordinary fictions which he delighted in telling. His economy, most laudable in the early part of his life, when it enabled him, from a small income, to pay his father's debts, became a miserable habit, and led him to do mean things. He had a desire to be a great man and a *Mæcenas—a bon marché*. The two celebrated lawyers, his brothers, were not more gifted by nature than I think he was, but the restraints of a profession kept the eccentricity of the family in order. Henry Erskine was the best-natured man I ever knew, thoroughly a gentleman, and with but one fault—he could not say *no*, and thus sometimes misled those who trusted him. Tom Erskine was positively mad. I have heard him tell a cock-and-a-bull story of having seen the ghost of his father's servant, John Burnet, with as much gravity as if he believed every word he was saying. Both Henry and Thomas were saving men, yet both died very poor. The latter at one time possessed £200,000; the other had a considerable fortune. The Earl alone has died wealthy. It is saving, not getting, that is the mother of riches. They all had wit. The Earl's was crack-brained and sometimes caustic; Henry's was of the very kindest, best-humoured, and gayest sort that ever cheered society; that of Lord Erskine was moody and muddish. But I never saw him in his best days."—*Lockhart's Scott*, ix. 371.

the beginning of the troubles, which have terminated in the independency of the United States, and to pass the remainder of my life philosophically among men who are, and who deserve to be free.

I am, sir, with regard,

Your obedient humble servant,

BUCHAN.

P. S. I shall be glad to know when you propose to leave this Island, and shall also thank you for informing me concerning the health of Mrs. Laurens, whose indisposition has given me concern. If I am prevented from going out this spring to America, I should wish to have a small purchase made for me of a house and farm in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, or to have such advice on this subject as might direct my choice.

A letter at this time from Arthur Lee shows how transitory and groundless were the resentments and suspicions which he had once indulged, and how completely he returned to the friendliness of earlier days.*

ARTHUR LEE TO MR. REED.

Annapolis, April 5th, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

By this time I hope your health has been materially benefited by your voyage to Europe. Our latest advices from London announce great violence and confusion arising from the contests between Pitt and Fox. In this country we are more harmonious and composed. The cession of all the territory northwest of the Ohio, belonging to Virginia, has been formally made by that State, and accepted by Congress. Generals Clarke, Wolcott, Greene, Butler, and Mr. Higginson, are appointed to negotiate a treaty, and purchase from the Indians their claims, which will secure the settlements in that country, and enable us to satisfy the demands of the army, and sink the public debt by the sale of the lands. A consummation devoutly to be wished.

I expect if there is any sense left in the English nation, they will turn their attention to Lord Shelburne, who I believe is the only man capable of saving their country from the ruin that threatens it, from such counsellors and contests. If you see Lord Shelburne, please to present to him my best respects, and the same to Dr. Price. I beg you will make my compliments to Mrs. and Mr. De Berdt. On the other side is a copy of the report on your letter. It has not been acted upon, from the number of public matters which have occupied Congress. Farewell.

A. LEE.

* Volume I, pp. 43, 47, 397.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MR. REED.

Annapolis, 5th May, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,

It gives me great pleasure to learn by your favour of the 4th of February, which came to hand a few days since, that you had safely arrived, as the severity of the winter here made your friends apprehend that your passage to London would be dangerous.

I am much obliged to you for forwarding my letters to Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay, and have been fully impressed with their disagreeable situation; how it happened that the instructions were sent without a commission I know not; this, being a mere form for carrying the others into effect, should, I think, have been prepared by the Secretary officially, and laid before Congress. And if he neglected it, the President most certainly should have communicated the matter to Congress before he forwarded the instructions, as he must have known that without the one, the others were useless. I suppose the fact to be, that neither the one nor the other of these gentlemen were favourable to two of our ministers, to whom the union are much indebted for an honourable peace. We have now before Congress a report which takes up the matter on very extensive principles, and not only authorizes the ministers to negotiate and *sign* the treaties, but to extend their negotiations to all the powers which have made advances for this purpose. The report has been debated, and the question put, but miscarried by the negative of a single member, and is now delayed in consequence of the demand of an addition of two ministers from the Southern States, to Messrs. Adams, Franklin, and Jay. Congress, I think, will consent to one, and this will be Mr. Jefferson; but some of the States insist on a previous acceptance of the resignation of Doctor Franklin's commission for the reasons he has offered, his advanced years, &c., but there are not seven States I think which will vote for this measure, perhaps six would agree to it. I trust that neither Mr. Adams nor Mr. Jay will think of returning until this matter is brought to an issue, which must be soon, nor until the negotiation of the treaties, in consequence of these new instructions, if adopted, shall be complete. Pray communicate this, and inform them I have deferred writing in order to give them full information on the subject.

Congress have resolved to adjourn the 3d of next month, to meet at Trenton the 30th of October next, for the despatch of public business, and in the interim to leave a Committee of the States for the conduct of such matters as shall be assigned to them. We have passed two resolutions recommending to the States an addition to the powers of Congress respecting commerce. We have also passed the requisition for this year, a copy of which I inclose, and are taking measures for making the back lands a sinking fund.

E. GERRY.

Pray excuse this scrawl, for I have but a moment to write it.

GENERAL GREENE TO MR. REED.

Newport, May 14th, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

My plan and intentions have been so altered since we parted at Philadelphia, that I have not had it in my power to go where I expected, and where you wished to hear from me. On my return home last fall, I found Mrs. Greene far advanced in a state of pregnancy. That, and the severity of the weather, which has exceeded anything known since my time, has prevented my going to the Southward. So little communication was there between this and Philadelphia, that I did not hear of your sailing until the middle of February. Since Mrs. Greene has been in bed, I have been too unwell to travel. My breast is constantly affected with a disagreeable pain. Within a few days past I have got a little better, and intend to go to Philadelphia in a few days, and to Charleston in about a month, or a little more, where I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you.

Since you left America I think the spirit and temper of her politics are mending. In New England there has been great commotion respecting the commutation. That is now subsiding, and the current of public prejudice is directed against the Cincinnati. The people in the Northern States are much enraged against it. General Washington is much alarmed at it. The Order is now sitting at Philadelphia; what will be the result of their meeting I know not. Many wish an alteration of the Order, but more a dissolution. Honorary members are much objected to, and the hereditary descent more so. Burke's address has sounded the alarm, and the Order, however innocent the plan and benevolent the design, is thought to contain dangerous designs, pregnant with mischief, and may be ruinous to the people.* General Washington wanted me to be at the meeting, and sent letter after letter; but my health prevented my going. Congress has said nothing on the subject, but they are not less displeased with the Order than other citizens.

I had a letter from your brother-in-law, Mr. Dennis De Berdt, and shall be happy to render him every service in my power. I could wish to hear from you on the subject of a loan, if you are not likely to be in America soon. But I am afraid our public affairs are unfavourable to private loans. Property will be thought unsafe in the hands of people pretty much out of the reach of law. Most of the States have agreed to the impost, and this State will come into it at their next meeting. New York has been much convulsed by faction; but it is dying away. Congress have laid out a great number of new States, and Mr. Morris has or will resign. These are the great political matters on our side of the water.

I am, with esteem, dear sir,

Yours,

N. GREENE.

* Mr. Burke, a Member of Congress from North Carolina.

HENRY LAURENS TO MR. REED.

Falmouth, June 15th, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I have not words for expressing the sensibility of my heart upon perusing your very polite and friendly letter, received since my arrival here. You will do me justice, sir, in believing I feel myself very highly flattered and obliged as well by the repeated tenders of your private friendship, as by your favourable sentiments respecting my public conduct. That I have with a single eye endeavoured to serve my country, is a fact testified by my own conscience, and for the truth of which I appeal to that Being from whom no secrets are hid. How far my labours have been beneficial, is for the judgment of that country; and although I know too much of the world to expect an entire escape from the shafts of envy, I feel perfect tranquillity under an assurance that, as I have not merited, I shall not incur the censure of wise and good men. To retire quietly from the bustle of life on these terms is as much as a public servant of common experience can reasonably wish for; it is the height of my humble ambition.

I have seen, with much regret, the manner in which more eminent services than mine have been rewarded; what then can I hope for, who am no intriguer, who have also put my face against speculators and plunderers,—against every one who has served his country or suddenly retired from its service, as the wind of self-interest directed? Such men may be pecking and carping in private whispers, but they dare not come forth nor speak aloud. I say, what have I to expect? Have I not heretofore found it necessary—have I not been called upon to be the advocate of a Washington, a Franklin, and a Reed?

Although I have not the vanity to expect the “well done,” I defy the utmost malevolence to support a contrary charge; at the same time I am totally unapprehensive of an attempt from any quarter.

I thank you sincerely, sir, for your concluding good wishes, and beg leave to make a return of mine with equal fervour, assuring you that with very great friendship and regard,

I have the honour to be, dear sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

One of the last letters which Mr. Reed probably ever wrote, was from London to his friend William Bradford. There is in it a seriousness of tone, especially in the retrospect of his public career—wasting, as it had been, in its cares, thankless in its apparent honours—which is very touching. William

Bradford had been his early and his congenial friend. He had always done him justice; and no one can read this letter, the last to which the reader's attention will be called, and doubt the sincere devotion of the writer to what, in the honest exercise of judgment, he thought his country's highest interests. It is to be much regretted that Mr. Bradford's letter, to which this is an answer, has been lost.

MR. REED TO WILLIAM BRADFORD.

London, May 2d, 1784.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have to thank you, which I do very sincerely, for your favour of the 15th February, which contains more information from America than all my other letters united. But this is of far less value than the sentiments of friendship it breathes, and which I cordially reciprocate. Accept my warm return, and be assured they flow from the heart which has long learnt to love and esteem you. Your picture of our political affairs is more complete than any I have received, for except a few lines from Mr. Ingersoll, I have little on the subject. It is a subject in which I must necessarily take some concern, though I have been some time endeavouring to divest myself of anxiety about it. I was thrown into turbulent times, which did not leave me so much at liberty to speculate merely as my own judgment directed. I was obliged to act, and too often without time to consider or advice to guide me. My reward you know. May your political path, if you must tread one, be happier.

It was easy to foresee that the State must be much convulsed this year; and I fear it will be long before it acquires the tranquillity its neighbours possess. Under any form of government it must be disturbed. The mixture of people and of religions must produce a mixture of interests, which clash too much to suffer it long to be at rest. That the constitutional interest, as it is called, should regain some of its weight, I always expected, because I never could see that it was fairly lost. Oppression or avarice never marked its rule, and its misfortunes only fell on those who conducted it. They have suffered in their peace of mind and temporal interest, but the people certainly prospered. Corruption or caprice only then can account for what has passed, and they will have their reign. But, my dear friend, what man that values his peace of mind or the interests of his family, will embark again in the political ocean of Pennsylvania and risk a second shipwreck? Some of the events which you have recited were natural and to be expected, such as the division of the Council of Censors, discord among leaders of party, and the extravagant proceedings of the Assembly. The

latter I think more founded in design than passion or ignorance ; it was the most effectual mode to convince, by making people to feel the defects of a single branch. But the union of interests and principles in forming a new bank is truly wonderful, and shows what a mutable world this is. I am at too great a distance to comprehend the subject in its full extent, but I have seldom known such coalitions lasting or useful, and I fear some of our friends will be the dupes at last.

I am perfectly astonished at the alterations proposed by the Council of Censors, and should suppose they could hardly meet with general approbation even from those who agree to some changes. By aiming at too much, they will probably lose the opportunity of doing anything. I expected the particulars propounded by the Assembly in 1778 would have been the groundwork of the present fabric ; to extend them farther, was endangering the whole.* I begin to think with you that the more temperate will prefer waiting, and submit to present inconveniences, than go on to great changes. Perhaps it will be best, but then the work must be in good hands, there must be more good humour and mutual conciliation than I have ever yet seen in Pennsylvania, to do anything effectual. What, my dear friend, is a good man's duty in such times ? I think, as far as he can, to forbear meddling when there is no prospect of doing good, which there certainly is not when there is so much warmth. I am sorry for our friend Bayard, as a few lines dated after yours, but received by the same opportunity, informs he is ousted. This is hard upon a good public servant, with a large family, against whom there is no complaint. The dispute about theatres is a very uninteresting one to me. I enjoy them very little here, where there are some capital performances. They have an actress here, who I think comes up to my idea of eloquence. She is irresistible ; the old and young, grave and gay, all sink in the soft distress together. Lord Mansfield will cry like a girl of fifteen.† But whatever the subject, the mode of argument, as described between Clymer and Gray, is convincing.

Removing the seat of Government is a measure which must affect so many interests that however it may be thought of in an angry moment, I cannot think it will take effect. As a farmer of Pennsylvania I should be for it. The Assembly is not the Assembly of Pennsylvania, but of Philadelphia, and that the most corrupt part of it, and I think it would be a happier place if both Congress and the Legislature sat elsewhere. I suspect Congress will not long relish their new residence, after all. Trenton will be the spot, or I am mistaken. I am sorry in some respects to learn that the Bill for the Administration of Justice, and raising the Judge's salaries, will fall through. The justice of the State is at a low ebb, and very inconvenient to the practitioners, but whether this would mend it, I don't know.

* The Council of Censors began its session on 10th November, 1783, and adjourned 11th September, 1784.

† Mrs. Siddons.

Though the Chief Justice does not always please me in law or politics, I should be sorry he should leave the Bench, and be succeeded by Mr. Wilson. The Chief Justice, I think, will repent his descent if he should actually make it. These things are easier in contemplation than action. I cannot but wonder at Mr. Wilson. His age and ascent in life are not such as to justify a retreat from actual weariness, but there is something in public life which always indisposes a man to resume former business, and in settled times this kind of seduction should be well considered before it is complied with. The appointment of public agent, with a large salary, is new and unexpected, but novelties are not objections, and it must be allowed that £3000 per annum is comfortable. I fear our blundering politicians will bring Connecticut upon us at last. It certainly was in a good train when we left it. I am not fond of the provisions you mention, and had rather Mr. Rittenhouse should be enabled to get the necessary assistance to perform his office than take a pension. However, if they are never worse bestowed, the evil may be borne.

———'s delinquency is extraordinary, but I think his interest is too good to let him suffer, be the fact as it will. After ——— I despair of ever seeing justice take place on powerful individuals. Other republics grow corrupt by degrees as riches and luxury advance; we have neither, and yet are corrupt. Poor ——— I think must fall a sacrifice ere long; his honesty must destroy him in Pennsylvania if he was an angel. I have more than once contemplated the sketch you have drawn of the new coalition, and confess I am lost in wonder. What will not interest do? But the particles I suspect are too repellent to hold long together. Quaker and Presbyterian, Whig and Tory, Col. Bayard and Tom Fisher, are too heterogeneous for permanent union. The Whig Representation seems to be too weak in this new Bank, and must, I think, fall under influence, if not absolute government. However, if it tends to check that enormous influence which absorbs every principle of good government, it may do some good. As yet we have made a poor hand to govern ourselves in many respects. Mr. Morris has had all the effective powers of government in his own hands, as it was easy to foresee he would; it was the misfortune of the times, and even good men were obliged to concur in it as the lesser evil.

Your ideas of an approaching Revolution of the Government founded upon a change of sentiment may possibly be very just, but, my dear friend, who that has experienced the tumultuary tossings of such waves, and got into a smooth harbour, would venture out a second time to be again shipwrecked? Philosophers and moralists are ever recommending to us to obtain a proper estimate of human life, but of what value is it if we do not apply it to use; and a people will ever find difficulty to obtain good servants who know experimentally that gratitude and justice are not to be found in the public walks of life. I would not have you suppose I am complaining. I assure you I often think with pleasure that I gained this knowledge of mankind at so early a period—all my errors are not irretrievable, and if I

ever embark again in public affairs, I do it forewarned and forearmed. But it is not my intention at present, and therefore I consider Mr. Rush's advancement to the Bench as an unpleasant circumstance. He will probably carry his passions and prejudices with him, and make a practiser sometimes uneasy.*

As to this country, though I have been kindly received by some part of it, I do not find it what it was formerly—neither the country nor my feelings towards it are the same, and I wish to return with all convenient expedition. The earliest conveyance, which will land me in September, or sooner, will carry me from this. The heat of the weather only detains me so long, or I should embark in a few weeks. It would be a great disappointment to me to be unhoused, and more especially from so agreeable a neighbourhood. I trust to your friendship and to Mr. Wallace's courtesy.

The events of our passage, after which you so kindly inquire, are now almost lost in the contemplation of a new one, but I assure you no ladies, except Mrs. De Berdt and my Patty, had any share in the last, and I shall return as unfettered as I came. From your understroking some of your words, I find some person has been so good as to cater for me; but it was rather unlucky that the lady to whom I suppose a reference is intended, was then and has been ever since in America. Your situation, indeed, demands more sympathy, and has mine most cordially. I was preparing some hymenial congratulations, but your letter has undone them. May you be happy when you engage in it as you wish, and will deserve to be. My hour is past. I am not unreasonable in my claims upon human life.

With respect to this country, its politics are not now very interesting to us. They have had a new Parliament, from which they expect a restoration of all things, but as the tree is, so will be the fruit. The most open bribery, universal corruption of manners and barefaced venality have been displayed in every part of the kingdom. The contest for power between Messrs. Pitt and Fox has terminated in favour of the former, but the opposition is very formidable, consisting of a union of the three greatest families and interests. Mr. Pitt has set out in life with great splendour of abilities and integrity, is powerfully supported by the king, and if any man can save them, he will do it; but a mild despotism is the euthanasia they will probably look for and meet with. As to its connexion with America, it is not very easy to form a proper judgment. The war was certainly a popular war, and only relinquished from necessity. The peace of course brought with it no cordiality; on the other hand, there is a great deal of mortification on giving up a favourite point. Sullenness and ill-humour towards that country and all its interests of a political nature. The sameness of language and necessary intercourse of trade, present some appearances of good will,

* Jacob Rush was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court 26th February, 1784. He was afterwards President Judge of the Common Pleas for Philadelphia County.

but we are all of opinion that there is ten times more conciliation in America than here. I do not know an American who wishes to see either Minister or Consul here at present, but fears he would be neglected, if not insulted. My own senses alone could have persuaded me how thoroughly a general enmity to America has pervaded all ranks of people, and how hard it is to appease those who have injured you. A few individuals are to be excepted from this description, who are friendly in the extreme, but it is strictly applicable to the bulk of the nation. I am only sorry we must have so much to do with them for our own sakes.

You see, my dear friend, you asked for a line, and I have given you a volume. Continue to esteem me; it forms no inconsiderable part of my happiness. My best wishes ever attend you.

Yours, most affectionately and sincerely,

JOSEPH REED.

My compliments to your sister.

Mr. Reed sailed from England in August, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 29th September, 1784. His friends, far from finding an appearance of improved health, saw symptoms of rapid decay. It was very apparent that in the ordinary calculation of chances, his recovery could not be anticipated. He is said to have been tranquil and cheerful; his chief anxiety being on account of the interruption of his active professional duties, and his helpless family.

One further mark of public confidence, and that of a most gratifying kind, was reserved for him. On the 16th of November, the Assembly of Pennsylvania elected him to represent the State in Congress. But this honour, the reward for public service, the tribute to justice, came too late. The hand of death was upon him; and after an illness, the severity of which continued for about two months, and which assuming a paralytic character, successively deprived him of motion and speech, he breathed his last at his residence, in Chestnut Street below Fourth, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th of March, 1785, at the early age of forty-four years.*

* James A. Bayard, afterwards a distinguished citizen of Delaware, was a student in Mr. Reed's office, and was with him when he died. In a letter from General Richard Butler to his family, dated Philadelphia, 9th March, 1785, he says, "Mr. Reed died on Friday last, and was buried on Sunday. I believe there never was so great a number of people at one funeral in America. I had the honour to be one of the Pall Bearers."

The highest respect was paid to his memory. All orders, classes, and parties united in paying him the last honours. The officers of the army, the militia of the city, the Assembly and Executive Council, with the President, Mr. Dickinson, and a larger concourse of citizens than ever was seen in this city on a similar occasion, followed his remains to the grave. They were buried in the Presbyterian ground, in Arch Street above Fifth, by the side of his wife. On his tomb is the following inscription, written by his friend Mr. Bradford.

In Memory
Of the virtues, talents, and eminent services of
GENERAL JOSEPH REED.
Born in the State of New Jersey
On the 27th August, 1741,
He devoted himself to the pursuit of knowledge,
And early engaged in the study of the law ;
By his erudition, learning, and eloquence,
He soon rose to the highest eminence at the bar ;
But at the call of his country,
Forsaking all private pursuits, he followed her
Standard to the field of battle,
And by his wisdom in council and conduct in action
Essentially promoted the Revolution in America.
Distinguished by his many public virtues,
He was, on the 1st December, 1778, unanimously elected
President of this State.
Amidst the most difficult and trying scenes, his Administration
Exhibited disinterested zeal, firmness, and decision.
In private life,
Accomplished in his manners, pure in his morals,
Fervent and faithful in all his attachments,
He was beloved and admired.
On the 5th of March, 1785,
Too soon for his country and his friends, he closed
A life, active, useful, and glorious.*

* General Reed left five children. Martha died unmarried at Burlington, N. J., 1821. Joseph, born at Philadelphia, 11th July, 1772, died 4th March, 1846, (Mr. Reed was for many years Recorder of Philadelphia.) Esther, still living. Dennis De Berdt, died at sea, 5th January, 1805; and George Washington, died at Jamaica, 4th January, 1813. By his will, Mr. Reed appointed as its executors and the guardians of his children, the oldest of whom was but fourteen years of age, his three friends, William Bradford, Jared Ingersoll, and Charles Pettit.

Of Mr. Reed's public character, the reader has now the materials for a fair judgment. His ability, accomplishments, and popular manners, his devotion to the public cause, disinterestedness,—for he died a poor man,—his integrity of purpose, which no allurements or intimidation swerved from the true balance, his ardour of temperament, sometimes impelling to hasty action and harsh judgment, are developed in these volumes; or my hope to do him justice has been disappointed. No one knew his errors better than himself,—and there is in the last letter he ever wrote, a single sentence that I am tempted to refer to, not by way of apology, for none is needed, but as an intimation of that consciousness which every intelligent man has of his own peculiarities. “I was thrown,” said he, “into turbulent times, which did not leave me at liberty to speculate. I was obliged to act, and too often without time to consider, or advice to guide me.” His life was eminently a life of action, under exigencies and responsibilities rarely exceeded.

In his private relations, Mr. Reed deserves something more at the hand of his biographer. In these relations, no whisper but of willing praise was ever heard, and, if it had been deemed expedient to make further disclosures of private intercourse, his domestic character would have appeared still brighter. His first familiar duty was watching over and sustaining an aged father; his last, the care of his helpless and desolate children. To the latest hour of his married life, he looked to his young and gentle wife as to the mistress of an early love; and when premature death snatched her away, his grief was a fearful element in the decay of which he was so soon the victim. It is the tradition of his family, that never or rarely after Mrs. Reed's death, did he partake of social intercourse in Philadelphia out of his own family, giving as a reason for seclusion, that he could not leave his little children, who now had no other friend and companion left. And there have been those lately living, who can remember the agonized look which the dying man, paralytic and deprived of voice and motion,—for such were the penalties of his life of active service,—bestowed

on the little ones brought for his farewell. These are slight traits, but strong and clear enough to mark the character—better worth having than all the high honours of his public career,—of the pure-minded Christian husband and father. These trials of a civil war, these privations, the separation of families, and the desolation of home, are not often commemorated. But they are worth some notice. The fair inference from private to public virtue need not be disclaimed; and the often-quoted lines of the poet may be cited again and again in behalf of that principle, which connects with the virtues of the fireside, the high qualities of the patriot statesman:

“For when was public virtue to be found
Where private was not? Can he love the whole
Who loves no part? He be the Nation's friend,
Who is in truth the friend of no man there?
Can he be strenuous in his country's cause
Who slights the charities, for whose dear sake
That country, if at all, must be beloved?”*

There is one other surviving memorial of Mr. Reed, a portion of which, as illustrative of his character and feelings, especially to his friends and family, and his peculiar views on education, I am tempted in conclusion to quote. It is his Will, made before his last visit to Europe, when in extremely ill health, and with little prospect of restoration. It is dated the 2d of December, 1783, at Philadelphia. It refers to a previous will in 1776, in which Mr. Cox and Mr. Pettit had been appointed executors.

“Whereas I did, some time in the year 1776, make and execute a last will and testament, and deposited the same with my esteemed friend, John Cox, Esq., now of Bloomsbury, but the death of my dear Mrs. Reed, and sundry other events, having made material alterations in my family, it becomes necessary to alter the disposition of my affairs. I do, therefore, now direct and order as follows:—

“Istly. Considering the education of my children of more importance than

* Cowper's Task, Book v. See also, for a beautiful application of these familiar lines, Quarterly Review, vol. iv. p. 208, in an article on William Pitt, attributed to Mr. Canning.

giving them fortunes, and being unable to do both, I direct that all my estate, both real and personal, be sold in some convenient time after my decease, and the proceeds, after debts paid, put out to interest on good real security, or in some public fund approved by the majority of my executors, and the interest applied to the education of my children, and if the interest is not sufficient, then to take of the principal, but two of my executors to agree to this at least, and in case of the death of either, I substitute my valued friend, William Bradford, Junior, Esq., in place of him so dying."

After some specific and unimportant legacies, it continues.

"5thly. As my views of education differ widely from the common mode, I desire that my boys may be taught writing, arithmetic, mathematics, and the German and French languages, in preference to all other learning, and on no account to meddle with the dead languages till they arrive at the age of fifteen, nor then unless they discover remarkable genius. My present intentions are that Joseph be bred to trade, but not sent abroad till he has served his apprenticeship to the age of twenty; Dennis to be bred to the law, under the care of my good friends Mr. Ingersoll or Mr. Bradford; Washington is of too tender an age yet to say anything of him, but that I would have the same mode of education as to him, and that they go to Bethlehem at proper ages to learn the German—to Canada, to learn French, if practicable, but on no account to go out of America till twenty. These are my sentiments, but I do not direct it so as not to leave a discretion in my executors to alter it if they should think it necessary."

The last paragraph in this Will has direct reference to the ghastly controversies of the previous year, when every kind of imputation had been heaped on the writer. He seemed to think it worth while, for the sake of those who were to come after him, to record a solemn denial of them all. It thus concludes.

"My situation in life has made me an object of much envy, calumny, and reproach; I therefore on this solemn occasion declare that any charge of infidelity to my Country, correspondence with the enemy, injustice to the State or individuals, which has been made against me is false. I served my Country with fidelity and usefulness, as General Washington's and General Greene's numerous letters will testify. I served Pennsylvania in particular, to the very great injury of my family, but with equal integrity, disclaiming all offers and opportunities of serving myself. If the State will allow for the depreciation of my salary during my administration, and also £193 which I forfeited as a purchaser of a State Island lot, but which was

never exacted from any other purchaser who failed in payment, I shall be obliged to it. I desire that there may be no pompous funeral, but quite plain, as nearly like those in 1776 as possible, and to be laid by my wife. If I am of consequence enough for a funeral sermon, I desire it may be preached by my old friend and instructor, Mr. Duffield, in Arch Street, the next Sunday after my funeral.

“And now I close this serious business, and shall meet death with composure, having no other concern than for my children, whose interests I have too much neglected for the service of the public; however, I recommend them to the care of Providence and kindness of friends.”

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A P P E N D I X.

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THE FORT WILSON RIOT.

Statement of Charles Wilson Peale.

THE rapidity of the depreciation of the Continental money was at this period such that those who retained it a few days could not purchase near the value which they had given for it.

This being a grievance greatly felt by those who had been most active in favour of the Revolution, and among them those who had on every occasion rendered their personal service in the militia, many of whom thought that this continual depreciation of their favourite paper was brought about by the machinations of their internal enemies. Very few indeed could trace the real or principal cause to its true source, viz. that of too great a quantity being issued and put into circulation. Taxation being too slow to obtain the necessary supply for the support of an army, Congress were continually obliged to be issuing more, although there was already so much in use as to have totally banished gold and silver in common dealings.

At the meeting of the militia of Philadelphia on the commons in 1779, a number of those active Whigs whose zeal would carry them any length in their favourite cause, and whose tempers had now become soured by the many insults they had met with from the Tories, assembled at Burns' tavern, and after they had come to some resolutions, more passionate than judicious, that of sending away the wives and children of those men who had gone with the British, or were within the British lines, was adopted. After these zealots had formed this design, they then began to devise the mode of carrying it into execution, and proposed to put themselves under some commander, and accordingly sent a messenger to request Captain Peale to attend them. But so soon as he was made acquainted with the business, he told them that he could not approve of the measure, as it would in the practice be found a difficult and dangerous undertaking; that the taking of women and children from their homes would cause much affliction and grief, that, when seen, the humanity of their fellow-citizens would be roused into an opposition to such a measure; that such attempts must of course fail. But

all his arguments were in vain; they could not see these difficulties with a *determined* band. He then told them that the danger in case of a failure in such an attempt would be imminent to the commander of such a party. The reply was that General Washington could not take his command without running some risks, and that they in this undertaking would sacrifice their lives or effect it. Captain Peale was at last obliged to refuse, and made the excuse that he was applied to by some of his friends to stand as a candidate at the then approaching election for members of the General Assembly; after which all further entreaty ceased, and he left them, and did not hear anything further of their proceedings until the Thursday following, when he received a notice that desired him, with Col. Bull,* Major Boyd, and Dr. Hutchinson, to meet the militia on the Monday following at Mrs. Burns' tavern on the common. Those persons so noticed having consulted together, all of them disapproved of the violent proceedings of the militia. Dr. Hutchinson said he would not attend the meeting; Peale and the other gentlemen conceived that they as good citizens were in duty bound to go and use their best endeavours to restrain, as far as they might be able, any violent and improper proceedings, and, in duty to themselves, at least to remonstrate in a public manner against having any part in the business.

After further consideration, Dr. Hutchinson agreed to meet them; Col. Bull being dangerously ill, could not attend.

Accordingly, on that memorable Monday Dr. Hutchinson, Major Boyd, and Captain Peale went to Mrs. Burns' tavern, (where great numbers of the militia had already assembled,) and they did use every argument in their power to prevent any further proceedings in that vain and dangerous undertaking. They represented the difficulty of selecting such characters as all could agree to be obnoxious amongst such a body of the people; that in such an attempt they must infallibly differ as to the object,—of course no good purpose could be answered.

Among the militia were many Germans, whose attachment to the American cause was such that they disregarded every danger, and whose resentment at this time was most violently inveterate against all Tories. They only looked straight forward, regardless of consequences.

In short, to reason with a multitude of devoted patriots assembled on such an occasion was in vain; and after Peale finding all that could be said availed nought, he left them and went to his home, and afterwards to the President's, General Reed, whom he found was preparing to go out in order to prevent mischief, which he said was to be feared from the tidings then brought him. Captain Peale immediately returned to his home, where he had not long been before he heard the firing of small arms. He then began to think that he ought to prepare himself by getting his fire-arms in order, in case he should be under the necessity of making use of them; for no man could now know where the affair would end: and finding his wife and family very uneasy, he determined to stay within his own doors for the present time.

* Colonel John Bull, of Montgomery County.

Shortly that tragical scene was ended, and very fortunately no more lives were lost.

The militia, having taken two men who they conceived were inimical to the American cause, they were parading them up Walnut Street, and when they had got opposite James Wilson, Esq.'s house, at the corner of Third Street, where a considerable number of gentlemen to the number of about thirty had collected and had armed themselves, amongst them Captain Campbell, commander of an invalid corps; this unfortunate person hoisted a window with a pistol in his hand, and some conversation having passed between him and the passing militia, a firing began, and poor Campbell was killed; a negro boy at some distance from the house was also killed, and four or five persons badly wounded. The militia had now become highly exasperated, and had just broke into the house, and most probably would have killed every one assembled within those walls; but, very fortunately for them, General Reed with a number of the light horse appeared at this fortunate juncture, and dispersed the militia. Numbers of them were taken and committed to the common jail, and a guard placed to prevent a rescue.

The next morning the officers of the militia, and numbers of the people, assembled at the Court House in Market Street, and the minds of the citizens generally seemed to be much distressed.

The militia of Germantown were beginning to assemble, and General Reed had sent Mr. Matlack, the Secretary of Council, to the officers of the militia, then assembled in Market Street, as above mentioned, to endeavour to keep them waiting until he could address the militia of Germantown, after which he would be with them.

Peale, hearing of this meeting at the Court House, went there, and found that the officers were exceedingly warm, and full of resentment that any of the militia should be kept in durance in the jail; they appeared to be ripe for undertaking the release of the prisoners, and all Mr. Matlack's arguments, perhaps, would have been insufficient to keep them much longer from being active.

Several of the magistrates were present, and Peale whispered Mr. Matlack to know if he did not think it would be prudent to propose the taking bail for the persons, and let them be released by the magistrates then present. This opinion was approved of, as the most certain means to prevent disorder, and perhaps a further shedding of blood. This measure being offered to the officers of the militia, they readily entered security for the personal appearance of the militia then confined, at any future time for trial, and, in consequence, the prisoners were released by the magistrates' orders.

General Reed having succeeded in preventing the Germantown militia from entering the city, came expecting to find things in the situation he had left them, and was not a little mortified to find that Mr. Matlack could not do as he had ordered. The people were assembled at the State House, and he publicly harangued them, after which, amongst a number of the officers

and his particular acquaintance, he was blaming Mr. Matlack for not doing as he had requested him. Peale then told the General that Mr. Matlack ought not to suffer blame, for if the measure was wrong, that he was the unlucky person who had proposed that measure, which he then conceived was the best expedient, as it had the appearance of being a judicial act.

C. W. P.

Philip Hagner's Narrative.

On the morning of the 4th October, 1779, I was walking down town with Captain Bankson, who remarked to me that he thought there would be a row that day; on my expressing my doubts of it, he said that numbers of the militia, &c., were assembled on the commons. We walked up Second Street; near the present Coffee-house, at Sharpe Delany's door, I saw between twenty and forty gentlemen parading on the pavement, among whom were S. Delany, John Schaffer.

While they were there, General Mifflin came up Walnut Street from Front: they were glad to see him, and explained the object of their meeting, upon which he advised them to send up word to the President, Mr. Reed; they approved the advice, and sent one Helm up on horseback to give the information. They asked me to fall in with them, which I, however, was not willing to do, and leaving them, went to my home in Front near Market Street. The other party, militia, &c., came down Arch and then down Front Street, and in passing our house, where I was standing in the porch, they also asked me to fall in, which I refused to do. They marched down Front to Chestnut, where they halted: I followed to see the result: they proceeded up Chestnut to Second Street, being, I suppose, about two hundred in number. They here gave three cheers, on which the other party, who were at the Coffee-house, retreated round into Walnut Street, and were followed by the others, who halted again near the Coffee-house, and gave three cheers. Delany and the rest went up Walnut Street into the house of James Wilson, Esq., which stood at the Southwest corner of Walnut and Third Streets. The mob marched up Walnut, and as they passed Mr. Wilson's house gave three cheers; the rear of them had passed the house, when Captain Campbell, who had but one arm, shook his pistol, and discharged it from the third story window; the party in the street immediately faced about, and opened a brisk fire into the house, and Campbell fell mortally wounded. I then stood at the Northeast corner of the streets. Several shots were fired from the house; some of the mob scattered, and coming round into Third Street commenced firing there. During the heat of the firing, General Mifflin, who was in the house, opened a window in the second story in Third Street, and attempted to harangue them. I crossed to the Southeast corner. While Mifflin was endeavouring to make himself heard, a man near me fired at him, and though the ball did not hit its aim, it struck the sash near Mifflin's body, and broke it.

The General immediately discharged both his pistols into the street. Upon my asking the man if he knew who he had fired at, he replied, "he supposed some damned Tory," and when I informed him that it was General Mifflin, he expressed his surprise and regret.

They then made an attempt to force the door, but failing, they sent, as I heard, to the arsenal for cannon. In the mean time, however, two men, one named Huler, and the other an old German, having procured a sledge, succeeded in breaking the door, and were mounting the stairs. I had crossed the street in order to prevent Huler. Colonel Chambers, from Lancaster, a member (I believe) of the Executive Council, coming part way down, discharged his pistol down the stairs, by which I believe the German was wounded in the arm: he, together with Huler, instantly rushed forward, and pulled Chambers by the hair down stairs, and wounded him with bayonets; I interfered, and succeeded in pulling them off of him. I then endeavoured to bring the Colonel off, but he being too heavy for me, old Colonel Mifflin came up to assist me, and we carried him nearly to Mr. Willing's house. Having returned, leaving Chambers under the care of Colonel Mifflin, I saw General Reed coming on horseback very fast down Third Street with two horsemen dressed in white uniform. I think they were not members of the City Troop; he was in citizen's dress, and appeared as if he had just risen from bed, as I afterwards learnt was the case, his knee-buttons being unfastened, and his boots down. He had a pistol in his hand, but no sword that I saw. When he got near the corner he gave his horse the spur, and turned up Walnut Street, waving his pistol; immediately the cry was from the house "The President! the President!" General Reed was at the corner, and in Third Street. Soon after, several horsemen came down, among whom was Major Lenox, in his shirt-sleeves; they rode in among the mob, and helped in dispersing them. After the riot was quelled, and General Reed had left the ground, General Arnold came down Third Street in his carriage, and stopped at the door of Mr. Wilson's house. Some of the gentlemen from the house assisted him out of his carriage, he being lame; in getting out I heard him say, "Your President has raised a mob, and now he cannot quell it." He then went up stairs into the house, and showed himself at the window with a pair of pistols; of these circumstances I speak with certainty. All those who were seized by the cavalry, &c., were taken to jail.

The next day the militia officers held a meeting at the old Court House, in uniform; a majority of whom were in favour of discharging the prisoners, though some opposed this measure, being in favour of leaving them in jail for the civil authorities. A large majority insisted on the party in the house going to prison, as a kind of retaliation, for twenty-four hours. The Tory or rather republican party thought the next day they had the ascendancy, and paraded the streets, insulting the Whigs; they had cannon at the corner of Third and Market Street. Sharp Delany, who had

been in the house, offered to go to prison if it would satisfy his fellow-citizens. Some officers of the militia, among whom I was one, went up to the prison, and procured the discharge of those who had been imprisoned irregularly, we might discharge them. The day after the riot General Reed called a meeting of the citizens in the Supreme Court Room; most of both parties present. Many of the clergy were present, among others Dr. Ewing, which was, I believe, to produce an imposing effect; the Judges were, I think, absent on the circuit. I am nearly certain that R. Morris and S. Delany were present. The President, Mr. Reed, harangued the meeting, during which great excitement and alarm prevailed. Both parties were held to bail; high bail was required. Shortly after, an act of oblivion was passed, the salt stores were shut, and the keys were placed in the hands of the Supreme Executive Council.

PHILIP HAGNER.

No. II.—Page 262.

FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR RELIEF OF THE SOLDIERS
IN 1780.

The originals of the following subscription papers are in my possession. I am tempted here to insert them, in order to perpetuate the individual munificence of the times.

NO. I.—ACCOUNT OF DONATIONS RECEIVED BY THE LADIES IN THEIR SEVERAL DISTRICTS FOR THE SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

Districts.	By whom collected.	Half Joes.	Mediores.	Guineas.	Louisdors.	Pistoles.	Foreign Coins.	Silver Dollars	English Shillings.	Pistareens.	Coppers.	Continental Currency in Dollars.
1. Northern Liberties.	Mrs. G. B. Eyre, Coates, and Mrs. J. B. Smith.			4				16 $\frac{7}{16}$	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	6,645,69
2. From Vine to Race Streets.	Mrs. F. Wade. . . .	4		9				15 $\frac{5}{16}$		4 $\frac{1}{2}$		6,600
3. Race to Arch Streets.	Mrs. Hutchinson, Hasenclever, Mrs. Hillegas, Mr. and Mrs. Clarkson.	9		13 $\frac{1}{2}$				46 $\frac{3}{8}$	2		1	13,095 $\frac{1}{2}$
4. Arch to Market Streets.	Mrs. Thompson, Richards, Mrs. J. Blair, and Mrs. T. Smith.	7		11		1		34	1	1	17	19,959 $\frac{1}{2}$
5. Market to Chestnut Streets.	Mrs. R. Bache, T. Francis, Mrs. J. Mitchell, Mrs. J. Caldwell, and Mrs. B. McClenachan.	13		13	2	2		36 $\frac{1}{8}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$		630,629 $\frac{1}{2}$
6. Chestnut to Walnut Streets.	Mrs. S. Caldwell, B. Rush.	11	2	14 $\frac{1}{2}$				6	1	2	8	16,925
7. Walnut to Spruce Streets.	Mrs. J. Mease, and Mrs. James Wilson. . .											63,561 $\frac{1}{2}$
8. Spruce to Pine Streets.	Mrs. T. McKean, J. Searle, J. Mease, Mrs. Dr. Shippen, and Mrs. R. Morris.	10		7 $\frac{1}{2}$	4			20 $\frac{1}{8}$	1		6	14,300
9. Pine to South Streets.	Mrs. W. Turnbull, and J. Benezet.	8		4	1			6 $\frac{2}{8}$			2	9,220
10. Southwark.	Mrs. Marsh, Ord, Blewer, Knox, and Penrose.	2						8 $\frac{1}{8}$	5	3		10,145
Germantown and Bettlehausen.	Mrs. H. Hill, Mrs. Hillegas, M. Clarkson, T. Hasenclever, and Mrs. R. Bache.	2	1	3				1				3,603 $\frac{27}{80}$
	Countess de Luzerne.											6,000
	Sundries.	3		3	2			2				
	Marchioness de Fayette.			100								
		69	3	182 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	9	1	1192 $\frac{1}{8}$	17	16	59	201,583

NO. II.—A SUBSCRIPTION TO BE ENTERED INTO BY THE LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA,
AS A DONATION TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, TO WHICH THEY
ARE SOLICITED TO CONTRIBUTE. JUNE 15, 1780.

	Specie.	C. Dolls.		Specie.	C. Dolls.
Mrs. Benezet	7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>	1200	Amount bro't forward .	24 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	8182
Mrs. Turnbull	6 0 0	400	Miss Robins		30
Mrs. Peterson	1 15 0	150	Mrs. Perkins		30
Miss Barber	0 7 6	120	Caty Hoover		30
Rachel Hood		60	Mrs. Endergarsed		40
Mrs. Humphreys		1500	Mrs. Dugan		30
Mrs. Harris	1 10 0		Mrs. Crawford		40
Mrs. Truxton	0 15 0		Mrs. Kirkpatrick		30
A Lady		60	Mrs. Hamilton		20
Mrs. Gratz	1 15 0	300	Mrs. Logan		30
Miss Maynor		100	Mrs. Donne		60
Mrs. Musgrave		98	Sarah Snowden		50
Mrs. Young		2000	Mrs. Peltz		80
Mrs. McCall		20	Mrs. Rinneld		30
Mrs. McCall, Jr. . . .		100	Mrs. Price		20
Lady Christiana Griffin .		24	Mrs. Meacock		5
Mrs. Homes		100	Mrs. Bardon	0 7 6	20
Mrs. Moulder		100	Miss Baker	0 2 0	
Mrs. Hamit		100	Mrs. Mullin		30
Mrs. Craft		300	Mrs. Flin		30
A good Whig		100	A Lady		13
Mrs. Hogland		100	Mrs. M'Caughen		60
Mrs. Snowden		100	Mrs. Harlin		20
Mrs. Young		960	Mrs. Kennedy		60
Mrs. Bingham	3 0 0	100	Mrs. Eckland	1 8 0	20
Mrs. Stamper		30	Mrs. Hubly		60
Mrs. Hazlewood		30	Mrs. Mecoud		20
Miss Montgomery		200	Mrs. Orsburn		60
Miss Montgomery, Jr. . .	1 15 0	30	A Lady	0 15 0	
Miss Shute		30	A Friend	6 0 0	
Mrs. Wood		30	Mrs. Fishbourn	1 15 0	200
Mrs. Martin			Mrs. Barney		
	24 7 6	8182		34 15 0	9220

NO. III.—A SUBSCRIPTION ENTERED INTO BY THE LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA AS

A DONATION TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

From whom received.	Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Silver Shillings.	From whom received.	Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Silver Shillings.
Mrs. Wade						1	Amount bro't forward	647					
Miss Fanny Wade . .	100						Mrs. Mary Tull . . .	4	5			1	4
Mrs. Hoffner		1					Mrs. Walker	5					
Mrs. Minick	2						William Hall, for a lady	20					
Mrs. Delap	6						Eliza Larkey	2					
Widow Kaur	80						Cash	3					
Mrs. Valentine	30						Mrs. Wilkison	3					
Mrs. Frances Mitchell	10						Sarah Tancy	20					
Mrs. Reid	60						Mary Phillips	10					
Mrs. Catherine Sirge .	2						Mary Johns	10					
Miss Jane Rauley . .	9						Mary Saville	10					
Mrs. Sarah Millar . .	3						Mary Lape	10					
Mrs. Eliza Boign . .	10						Sarah White	4					
Mrs. Mary Patterson .	3						Miss Betty Bryan . .					1	
Mrs. Mary Gentory . .	5						Mrs. Sarah Fling . .	23					
Mrs. Ann Fordam . .	7						Widow Dior	9					
Mrs. Sarah Jones . .	10						Mary Lawrence . . .	20					
Mrs. Edith Ross . .	60						Catherine Braddin . .	16					
Mrs. Mary Bright . .	60						Mrs. Parker	3					
Mrs. Bright	20						Mary Willing	10					
Mrs. Eliza Faring . .	7						Mary Dickinson . .	6					
Miss Hester Duncan .	2						Mary Fenton	2 $\frac{1}{2}$					
Miss Ann Bright . .	10						Kitty Henglinton . .	5 $\frac{1}{2}$					
Miss Ann Duncan . .	10						Rebecca Hardy . . .	2 $\frac{1}{3}$					
Mrs. Duncan	30						Hetty Haughtman . .	3					
Mrs. Rogers	30						Catherine Stroops . .	30					
Mrs. Eliza Rush . .	30						Mrs. Ann Waters . .	30					
Mrs. Glenworth . . .		4					Mrs. Fox	20					
Mrs. Hannah Williams	30						Mrs. Stroops	21					
Mrs. Hannah Love . .	2						Ann Florentine . . .	40					
Mrs. Elinor Schnes . .						3	Mrs. Jane Robison . .	7					
Mrs. Taport	3						Widow Fox	8					
Mrs. Enich	8						Mrs. Kincase	4					
Mrs. Juland Ridge . .	2						Mrs. Dolby	10					
Mrs. Eliza Hunning .	6						Christiana Kreible . .	8					
	647	5			1	4		1026 $\frac{1}{2}$	5			1	5

From whom received.	Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Silver Shillings.	From whom received.	Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Silver Shillings.
Amount bro't forward	1026 $\frac{1}{6}$	5			1	5	Amount bro't forward	1600 $\frac{2}{3}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2		1	7
Mary Kemp	8						Elizabeth White . .	35					
Hannah	5 $\frac{3}{4}$						Sylvia Smith	12					
Catharine Peck . .	20						Hannah Gilbert . . .	100					
Ann	24						Elizabeth Fogle . . .	20					
Catharine Billy Baker	7						Mary Harper	20					
Elizabeth Slater . .	7						Widow Hart	2					
Mary Lap	5						Miss Fritz	30					
Charlotte Millar . .						2	Eve Frazier	5					
Christiana Haught .	4						Polly Fritz, a little girl	5					
Catharine	10						Kitty Detz	5					
Mrs. Phule	60						Barbara Detz	5					
Catherine Myers . .	20						Catherine Suther . .	2					
Mrs. Dunah McClean	20						Susanna Nail	2					
Christiana Beckly . .	6						Mary Beise	15					
Charlotte Bush . . .	6						Nancy						
Sophia Sivert	8						Eliza Robins	11 $\frac{1}{4}$					1
Mrs. Earle	100						Mrs. Gurland	60					
Catharine Gilbert . .	7						Eve Shilling	8					
Christiana Gilbert .	7						Mary Russel	15					
Mrs. Crosse	20						Margaret Francis . .	15					
Barbara Smith . . .	4						Mary Corra	2					
Cash	15						Eliza Baker			$\frac{1}{2}$			
Mrs. Eliza Lehman . .	30						Lucy Bingham	35					
Catharine Pough . .	8						Catharine Black . . .			$\frac{1}{4}$			
Mrs. Mary Hay . . .	40						Cash	1					
Miss Nancy Hay . . .	20						Mrs. Collyday	70					
Mrs. Boshart	6						Kitty Coleman	60					
Mrs. Sergeant				2			A little girl	2					
Rebecca	10						Mrs. Benzett	130					
Cash		$\frac{1}{2}$					Mrs. Freibert	12					
Catharine Lyons . . .	3						Mrs. Boland	4					
Catherine Misery . .	$\frac{2}{3}$						Miss Davis			2			
Elizabeth Trout . . .	3						Mary Cohlar	8					
Distress	$\frac{1}{2}$						Mrs. Woodside			1			
Mary Lup	9						Cash	50					
Barbara Vinder . . .	8						Mary Britt	2					
Cash from two persons	8						Sukey Britt				$\frac{1}{4}$		
Catherine Grim . . .	7						Mrs. Howwalker . . .	100					
Barbara Weiss	10						Mrs. Jacobi			2			
Kain	60						Mrs. Linnington . . .	100					
Sarah Nelson	2						Mrs. Buddin	8					
Mary Bartleson . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$						Mrs. Marker	5					
Cash	2 $\frac{1}{3}$						Agnes Reabir	5					
Margaret Fister . . .	5						Mrs. Hausman	20					
Margaret Hane . . .	65						The Miss Schlossers .	120					
Hannah Buckhurst .	8						Mrs. Hayrick	45					
Catherine	4						Mrs. Peters	20					
	1600 $\frac{2}{3}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2		1	7		2767 $\frac{5}{6}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2		1	8

From whom received.	Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Silver Shillings.	From whom received.	Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Silver Shillings.
Amount bro't forward	2767 $\frac{5}{6}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2		1	8	Amount bro't forward	3853 $\frac{5}{6}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	7		3	8
Mrs. Christie . . .		2			1		Mrs. Straney . . .	13					
Susanna Morse . . .	15						Widow Claypoole . .	60					
Catharine Lehman . .	15						Barbara Lubberham .	7					
Mrs. Baker	80						Mrs. Midsummer . . .	50					
Children	2						Eliza Crawford . . .		1				
Mrs. Detrick	15						Cash					1	
Ann Will		1					Rachel Lewis	2					
Widow Sybert	100						Mary Coulter	5					
Margaret May	80						Barbara Rouen . . .	1					
Catharine Learn . . .	10						Mary Boorke	8					
Kitty Reed	30						Catharine Konn . . .	10					
Hannah Boyer	60						Mary Foster	9					
Polly Wager	100						Magdalen Hyster . .	18					
Mrs. John Morris . . .					1		Cath. Leonard	5					
Mary Farmer		1					Mary Grubb	4					
Mrs. Graff	100						Dolly Ensminger . .	2					
Barbara Hollar	6						Betsey Corn	4					
Mrs. Hartford		1					Margaret Hodge . . .						
Mrs. Collins	40						Catharine Cameron . .	30 $\frac{3}{4}$					
Mrs. Ricoston	5						Mary Karcher	10					
Cash from sundries . .	142						Polly Smith	20					
Mrs. Saunders	150						Catharine Oldham . .	20					
Mrs. Channell	12						Mrs. Mary Savill . . .	20		2			
Esther Channell . . .	30						Catharine Switer . . .						
Mrs. Tatnall	50												
Mrs. Thompson		4					Clara Neise	7					
Ann Savage	30						Cash	14					
Mrs. Craig		3					Mrs. Margaret Hare .	100					
Mrs. Lesley	6						Miss Peggy Murphy .	2000					
Mrs. Crofts	8						Mrs. Mary Dudley . .	100					
	3853 $\frac{5}{6}$	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	7		3	8		6475 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	9		3	9

NO. IV.—THE LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA AS A DONATION TO THE SOLDIERS
OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, TO WHICH THEY ARE SOLICITED TO CONTRIBUTE.

	Dollars.		Dollars.
Mrs. Meelenachan	4000	Brought forward	15,007
Mrs. Caldwell	2000	Mrs. Benson	50
Mrs. M. Irwin	2000	Mrs. Manson	16
Mrs. T. Irwin	2000	Mrs. Yeldall	20
Mrs. Marks	120	Mrs. Sullivan	30
Mrs. Ann Reed	120	Mrs. Weaver	30
Mrs. Roberts	200	Cash for sundries	270
Mrs. Campbell	400	Mrs. Bradford	115
Mrs. Goggin	25	Mrs. Matthews	30
Mrs. Boyd	150	Mrs. Frazer	100
Mrs. Scott	100	Mrs. Delaplain	30
Bell McElvain	7	Mrs. Falconer	30
Mrs. Bar	30	Mrs. Smith	50
Mrs. Woodhouse	40	Mrs. W. Cealbay	480
Sarah Benninghoof	20	Miss Patty McElenachan	800
Lucy Fitzdelsby	14	Mrs. Blair	480
Mrs. Risk	60	Mrs. Sparhawk	200
Mrs. Myrtilus	8	Mrs. Footman	280
Mrs. Magill	9	Mrs. Pole	100
Mrs. Myers	16	Mrs. McCree	200
Hester Williams	3	Cash	100
Mrs. Edgecomb	20	Mrs. Forsyth	133
Mrs. Allen	60	Mrs. Phile	480
Amelia Taylor	40	Miss Phile	100
Mrs. Reynolds	30	Miss Phile	100
Mrs. Aitkin	200	Mrs. Ballard, 2½ Joes	960
Cash	50	Cash	110
Mrs. Tricket	100	Mrs. Woodhouse	20
Mrs. Shee	60	Mrs. Levins	200
Mr. Humphreys	300	Mrs. Wultbager	40
Mrs. Humphreys	65	Mary Ingles	20
Mrs. Stansbury	564	Mrs. Govet	10
Mrs. Beck	20	Mrs. Finley	40
Amelia Judah	30	Mrs. Womer	12
Mrs. C. Morris	800	Mrs. Suler	60
Miss Struttie	500	Mrs. Bird	480
Mrs. Jenkins	41	Mrs. Taylor	60
Cash	30	Mrs. Reynolds	12
Mrs. Philips	100	Mrs. ———	20
Mrs. Barry	8	Mrs. Turner	145
Elizabeth Thomas	40	Mrs. Falconer	30
Mary Adcock	120	Mrs. S. T.	500
Mrs. Gallagher	100	Mrs. Duffield	280
Mrs. Brooks	60	John Lyon	25
Cash	100	Toney	7
Mrs. Kennedy	200	Sylvia	30
Mrs. Streton	30	Lizzey	60
Cash	17		
	15,007		22,352

NO. V.—A SUBSCRIPTION ENTERED INTO BY THE LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA AS A DONATION TO THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS. COLLECTED BY MRS. A. CALDWELL AND MRS. PETERS.

	Paper Dols.		Paper Dols.
Mrs. Huntington	1000	Mrs. Graham	100
Mrs. A. Caldwell	3000	Mrs. Diek	57
Miss Wagner	180	Mr. & Mrs. —	50
Miss —	70	Mrs. Beek	55
Mrs. —	16	Mrs. —	2
Miss —	60	Mrs. Mrs. & Mrs.	18
Mrs. Tyl	270	—	50
Mrs. Flahavan	—	Mrs. Clelan	8
Mrs. Baker	100	Mrs. Hood	50
Mrs. Anything	100	Mrs. Baxter	12
Miss Aitkin	125	Mrs. Welsh	30
Miss Cobler	8	Mrs. Bevan	60
Cash	60	Mrs. Coran	4
Mrs. Henderson	100	Mrs. Armstrong	10
Mrs. Rhea	200	Mrs. Oxly	30
Miss Tilton	100	Mrs. Burdon	30
Several Ladies	64	Mrs. Feeling	100
Mrs. Markoe	—	Mrs. Goodness	100
Mrs. —	100	Miss Kitty Caldwell	100
The three Miss Rheas	300	Miss Eliza Mitchell	500
Mrs. & Mr. —	200	Mr. Roney	200
Mrs. Galloway	200	Mrs. — in Grip Alley	50
Mrs. More	40		9787
Mrs. Lilly Brown	200		
In Carter's Alley	52		
Mrs. Corners	75		
Mrs. —	37		
Four Misses —	400		
Mrs. —	60		
Mrs. —	20		
Mrs. —	300		
Mrs. —	200		
Mrs. & Miss —	280		
Mrs. Wood	400		
Mrs. —	60		

Specie.

Mrs. Duffield	1 Guinea.
Miss Good Girl	1 Dollar.
Mrs. Peters	4 Guineas.
Mrs. Humanity	2 half Joes and 1 half Johann.
Mrs. Rambler	1 Dollar.
Miss —	$\frac{1}{2}$ Dollar.
Mrs. —	1 Guinea.

NO. VI.—GIVEN TO THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS BY

	Con. Dols.	Hard Dols.		Con. Dols.
Mrs. Bond		8	Brought forward	
Mrs. Price		5	Mrs. —	40
Miss Lilly Bond		1	Mrs. Lavadge	20
Miss S. R. Lawrence		$\frac{1}{2}$	Mrs. Till	20
Mrs. Sarah Morris		$\frac{3}{4}$	Mrs. Glishe	15
Mrs. Prost		1	Mrs. Sourwall	15
Miss Bond	500		Mrs. Wilson	7
Mrs. James	60		Mrs. —	60
Mrs. Delany	20		Mrs. —	30
Mrs. —	200		Mrs. Clingan	6
Mrs. Long	40		Mrs. Scheiger	5
Mrs. Collins	12		Mrs. Greenwood & Co.	7
Mrs. Beaks	30		Mrs. Shippen	500
		16 $\frac{3}{4}$		1587

NO. VII.—A SUBSCRIPTION ENTERED INTO BY THE WOMEN OF PHILADELPHIA AS A DONATION TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY. THE FOLLOWING SUMS WERE COLLECTED, BY MRS. TENCH FRANCIS, MRS. JOHN MITCHELL, AND MRS. BACHE.

Subscribers' Names.	Continental Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Joes.	Pistoles.	Silver Dollars.	Subscribers' Names.	Continental Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Joes.	Pistoles.	Silver Dollars.
Cash.....	100				1	Brought forward.....	3924	4	2	1	17
Mrs. Bass.....	300					Miss M'Vaugh and Miss Worrell.....	100				1
Miss Bass.....	100					Miss Anna Randolph.....	100				
Miss M'Nair.....	100					Mrs. Rogers.....	60				
Mrs. Bailly.....					5	Mrs. Draper.....	20				
Mrs. Peale.....					4	Mrs. Little.....			1		
Mrs. Jenkins.....				1		Mrs. Lee.....			1		
Miss Jenkins.....					$\frac{1}{2}$	Mrs. Marten.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$				
Cash.....	346					Mrs. Dickenson.....	60				
Cash.....	105					Miss Rachel Dickenson.....	13				
Cash.....		1				Miss Sally Dickenson.....	7				
Mrs. Davidson.....	60					Mrs. Shirier.....	9				
Mrs. Facundas.....	20					Miss Shirier.....	5				
Mrs. Bickham.....	100					Miss Caruthers.....					1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mrs. Clamper.....	112					Miss Hall.....					1
Mrs. Bitten.....	60					Cash.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$				
Mrs. House.....			1			Mrs. Clews.....					1
Mrs. Frist.....			1			Mrs. Barbara Jones.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$				
Mrs. Copper.....	10					Miss Rutter.....	3				
Miss Kinsey.....	60					Miss Scull.....	60				
Mrs. Foulke.....	70					Miss Alexander.....	7				$\frac{1}{2}$
Mrs. Roussou.....	10					Miss Bruce.....					
Mrs. Shoemaker.....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$					Cash.....	15				
Mrs. Lackland.....	7					Mrs. Blakely.....	5				
Mrs. Searchlan.....	10					Mrs. Moore.....					2
Miss Sybel Matlack.....	800					Mrs. Thorn.....	60				
Miss Kitty Matlack.....		1				Mrs. Hannah Polke.....			1		1
Miss Patty Matlack.....					3	Mrs. Ball.....					1
Mrs. Mathews.....	30					Mrs. Weatherly.....					
Mrs. Emmerick.....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$					Mrs. Davis.....	60				
Mrs. Blaine.....	500					Mrs. Irwin.....	8				
Mrs. D. Rundel and Mrs. R. Rundel	11		1			Mrs. Keen.....		3			
Mrs. Clymer.....				1		Cash.....			1		
Mrs. Bugson.....	150					Mrs. Stiltzhimer.....		1			
Mrs. Cumings.....	55					Mrs. Estlin.....	15				
Mrs. Houseman.....	100					Mrs. Jones.....	15				
Master Cumings.....					$\frac{1}{4}$	Mrs. Cahoun.....	15				
Miss Bryson.....	50					Mrs. Cunningham.....	20				
Mrs. Richards, (a pair of leather breeches).....						Mrs. Ogden.....	50				
Mrs. Ayle.....	50					Miss D. Williams.....					2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mrs. Clopper.....	3					Mrs. Neigle.....	1000				
Mrs. Seward.....	150					Mrs. Mitchell.....	1000				
Mrs. Chevalier.....	65					Mrs. Martin.....	50				
Cash.....	200					Mrs. Bache.....	300				
Mrs. Graff.....					2	Miss Bache.....	100				
Mrs. Stonebeitz.....	20					Miss Brackenridge.....			1		
Mrs. Reily.....					1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Cash.....	660				$\frac{1}{2}$
Mrs. Hendricks.....	50					Mrs. Facundas.....					
Mrs. Gribble.....	4					Mrs. Richard's leather breeches sold for.....	1000				
Mrs. German.....	5					Cash.....	140				1
Mrs. Swing.....	3					A young lady by the hands of Mr. Bates.....			1		
Mrs. Donnanos.....	8					Miss Randolph.....	150				
Mrs. Pendleton.....	8					Mrs. Young.....	50				
Mrs. Stokes.....	20					Mrs. Ingle.....	40				
Mrs. Wulcher.....					1	Mrs. Hedman.....	30				
Miss Wright.....						Mrs. Francis and daughters.....	500				
Mrs. Sykes.....	52										
Cash.....	13										
Carried forward.....	3924	4	2	1	17	Total.....	9662	4	7	2	30

NO. VIII.—ACCOUNT OF CASH RECEIVED BY MRS. SAMUEL CALDWELL AND
MRS. RUSH, OF THE LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA AS A DONATION TO THE
SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY. JUNE, 1780.

Of whom received, &c.	Dollars in Specie.	Dollars in Paper.	Of whom received, &c.	Dollars in Specie.	Dollars in Paper.
Mrs. Hill, 3 half Johannes	24		Brought over	61	1778
Cash		65	Mrs. Bartram, 1 Guinea	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Mrs. Jones		280	Mrs. Stewart		120
Cash		20	Cash		80
do.	1		Mrs. Nixon		100
Mrs. Davies, half a guinea	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		Cash		80
Mrs. Fudge		60	Mrs. Sword, 1 Moidore	6	
Mrs. Whitehead		30	Cash		70
Cash		11	do.		15
do.		20	do. 1 Guinea	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	
do.		15	Mrs. Dunlap		100
Mrs. Ten		40	Mrs. Kieth		50
Cash		14	Miss Liberty		120
do.		45	Miss Nobody		150
Mrs. Pierce		12	Miss Who you please		150
Mrs. Tonglopt	3		Mrs. Cross		100
Mrs. M'Knight		30	Miss Nobody		150
Mrs. F.		80	Mrs. Smith		80
Mrs. Walnut Street, 1 half			Mrs. Hamilton, 1 Guinea and		
Johannes	8		a half	7	
Mrs. Main		24	Cash 1 Dollar	1	
Mrs. Clark		22	do.		70
Mrs. Front Street		120	Mrs. Lupes	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Mrs. Boiteaux, 1 Guinea	4 $\frac{3}{4}$		Miss Becky Wharton, 1 half		
Cash		200	Johannes	8	
Mrs. M' Lane, 1 Guinea	4 $\frac{3}{4}$		Miss Somebody, 1 do.	8	
Cash		40	Mrs. M'Allister		200
Mrs. Worthlittle		40	Miss Quinn		120
Mrs. Tharp		120	Mrs. Front		300
Cash		50	Mrs. Delany, 1 half Johannes	8	
Mrs. Brown		30	Mrs. Dugget		46
Mrs. Courtney		80	Mrs. Waid	1	
Mrs. Pinching		40	Mrs. Berry	2	
Cash		80	Mrs. Budden		60
Mrs. Rush, 1 half Johannes	8		Mrs. Patton		60
Mrs. S. Caldwell, 1 Moidore	6		Cash		440
Cash	1	80	Mrs. White		1000
Mrs. Evans		130	W. Barton		100
Miss Franks, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Guineas	1 $\frac{3}{4}$		Miss Somebody, additional		14
Mrs. J. Dunlap, (this lady paid in another ward)					
	61	1778		68	5515

NO. IX.—ACCOUNT OF MONEY COLLECTED FOR THE SOLDIERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, BY MRS. HILLEGAS, MRS.
CLARKSON, MRS. HASSENCKLEVER, AND MRS. HUTCHINSON.

	Hard Money.			Hard Money.			Cont. Money.	
	17. 15s. 0d.	82l. 10s. 0d.						
Mrs. Ash			Mrs. Gardiner				11	5 0
Mrs. Vanuzem			Miss Simons				37	10 0
Elizabeth Williams		0 14 4	Mrs. Cohen		0 7 6			
Mrs. Cathart		37 10 0	Mrs. Campbell		3 0 0			
Abigail Penrose		0 15 0	Mrs. Ratties				3	15 0
Mrs. Cummings		1 2 6	Mrs. Johnston				1	17 6
Mrs. Stewart		1 0 0	Mrs. Scott				3	0 0
Sarah Crawford		6 10 0	Mrs. M'Fadden				11	5 0
Rebecca Allen		11 5 0	Miss Betsy Cox				2	12 6
Mrs. T. Lawrence	3 10 0		Mrs. Rudle				3	0 0
Mrs. Gibbs	1 15 0		Mrs. Haan				2	5 0
Jane Maloney	0 7 6		Mrs. Elizabeth Breron				7	10 0
Cash		60 0 0	Mrs. Harman				1	17 6
Mrs. Grooves		2 12 6	Mrs. Fiddler				1	12 6
Mrs. Whittle		1 17 6	Mrs. Geyer				7	10 0
Miss Whittle		2 12 6	Mrs. Paris				37	10 0
Miss Hartzog		15 0 0	Mrs. Bryligam				3	15 0
Miss Becky Hartzog		15 0 0	Mrs. Miller				5	12 6
Miss Sukey Hartzog		15 0 0	Mrs. Curtis					
Mrs. Peters		24 7 6	Mrs. Kuhmle		0 7 6		6	15 0
Mrs. M'Kenney		3 0 0	Mrs. Schreiner				37	10 0
Mrs. Taylor		1 10 0	Mrs. Levy				37	10 0
Mrs. Burkhardt		1 10 0	Mrs. Fleck				18	15 0
Mrs. Downs		3 0 0	Mrs. Wynkoop		1 10 0			
Mrs. Pickering		3 0 0	Mrs. Moses				100	0 0
Mrs. M'Calla		1 17 6	Cash		1 17 6			
Cash		0 12 0						

Hard Money.		Cont. Money.		Hard Money.		Cont. Money.	
Mrs. Weiss	0	7	6	Miss Crozier			9
Mrs. Barthman	1	15	0	Mrs. Miller			0
Cash				Mrs. Biddle	3	15	0
Mrs. Lardner	1	15	0	Mrs. Brooks			1
Miss Fanny Lardner	1	15	0	Mrs. Sadler			17
Miss Hannah Lardner	1	15	0	Mrs. Say			6
Mrs. Muhlenberg	2	0	6	Mrs. Baker	1	10	0
Mrs. Baker				Mrs. Price			18
Mrs. Rigby				Mrs. M'Cartney	3	0	0
Mrs. Hue	7	6		Cash	3	0	0
Mrs. Rooke				Mrs. Gallagher	0	15	0
Cash				Cash			75
Mrs. Mouse				Mrs. Boosh			0
Mrs. Gravinistine				Mrs. Adams			37
Mrs. Cullen				Mrs. Pearson			10
Mrs. Hint				Mrs. Clumburg			6
Mrs. Wilson				Mrs. Burrows			1
Mrs. Connelly				Mrs. Burkhard			10
Mrs. Rice	0	7	6	Mrs. Wittenberger			0
Mrs. Miriam	0	7	6	Mrs. Hall			3
Mrs. Bryton	0	7	6	Mrs. Null			15
Mrs. Cryder	0	7	6	Mrs. Nail			0
Mrs. Birkley	1	15	0	Mrs. Cline			17
Mrs. Kimminly				Mrs. Warner			10
Mrs. Fisher				Mrs. Rudell			3
Mrs. Kissler				Mrs. Hinkeler			15
Cash				Mrs. Hickey			0
Mrs. Bogart	0	16	0	Mrs. Snider			2
Mrs. Dehaven				Mrs. Sewell			12
Mrs. Kitz				Mrs. Knox			6
Mrs. File	1	10	0	Mrs. Kuntzey	0	15	0

Hard Money.		Cont. Money.		Hard Money.		Cont. Money.	
Cash.							
Mrs. Hinman		3	15	0		Mrs. Tillier	
Mrs. Fritz.		2	12	6		Mrs. Ott	3
Mrs. Barkhard		2	5	0		Mrs. Berrell	22
Mrs. Honey		11	5	0		Mrs. Lort	4
Mrs. Winiberg		11	5	0		Mrs. Epple	7
Mrs. Sprout		37	10	0		Mrs. Lewis	235
Mrs. Henderson		75	0	0		Miss Cowell	16
Mrs. Simmonds		26	5	0		Mrs. Dalley	22
Mrs. Lavenwyler		11	5	0		Miss Molly Hodge	22
Mrs. Waggoner	0	7	10	0	2	Mrs. Hopkinson	112
Mrs. Buck	3				5	Mrs. Davis	10
Mrs. Willis	9				0	Mrs. Patton	1
Mrs. Gitz		3	0	0	15	Miss Harvey	0
Mrs. Stummell		0	7	6	4	Mrs. Rouse	5
Mrs. Sutz		6	0	0	6	Mrs. Watkins	142
Mrs. Hubert		7	10	0		Mrs. Bartholomew	10
Miss Hubert		1	17	6		Mrs. Hoopes	7
Mrs. Carr		2	12	6		Mrs. Detrick	15
Mrs. Sfen		1	10	0		Mrs. Cridling	5
Mrs. Haas		7	10	0		Cash	1
Mrs. Pukers		2	5	0		Mrs. Paschal	12
Mrs. Graff		7	17	6		Mrs. Mitchell	3
Miss Wack		1	10	0		Mrs. Wilpert	1
Mrs. Lagner		6	0	0		Miss Jarson	2
Mrs. Mather		15	0	0		Mrs. Vaughan	5
Mrs. Yeager		0	15	0		Mrs. Weaver	0
Mrs. Ink		1	2	6		Mrs. Hert	3
Mrs. Wack		2	12	6		Mrs. Fohur	7
Mrs. Flisher		0	7	6		Cash	0
Mrs. Hemly		0	15	0		Mrs. Wightingen	4
		11	5	0		Mrs. Geyer	17
		2	5	0			6

Hard Money.	Cont. Money.		Hard Money.	Cont. Money.
Mrs. Fisher	37 10 0	Mrs. Shepaugh		0 15 0
Mrs. Sellers	45 0 0	Mrs. Haase		0 15 0
Mrs. Williams		Mrs. Barthinger		15 0 0
Mrs. Robinson	40 17 6	Mrs. Warner		1 2 6
Mrs. Pickering	225 0 0	Mrs. Hongert		0 15 0
Mrs. M'Culloch	3 0 0	Mrs. Spence		1 2 6
Mrs. Richie	0 5 0	Mrs. Wager	0 7 6	
Mrs. Bennett	6 0 0	Mrs. Pugh		4 2 6
Mrs. Dean	3 0 0	Mrs. Walker		7 20 0
Mrs. Alberti		Cash		4 18 6
Mrs. Lenox	37 10 0	Mrs. Griscom		0 8 6
Mrs. Wikoff		Cash		7 10 0
Mrs. Dehaas	75 0 0	Caty Slimer		3 0 0
Mrs. Lohra	22 10 0	Elizabeth Keyer		3 0 0
Mrs. Hodgekinson	22 10 0	Mrs. Clarkson	3 0 0	
Mrs. Shu	112 10 0	Mrs. B. Davis	2 2 6	
Mrs. Woelpar	37 10 0	Mr. Holker		1500 0 0
Mrs. Burchall	3 0 0	Mrs. Hillegas		225 0 0
Mrs. Peters	2 12 6	Mrs. Powell		11 5 0
Mrs. Evans	1 10 0	Mrs. Hutchinson		187 10 0
Mrs. Smith	1 17 6	Mrs. Way	2 12 6	
Mrs. Byrnes	18 15 0	Mrs. Hassenclever	3 0 0	
Mrs. Johnston		Mrs. Quarries	0 15 0	
Mrs. Camph	1 2 6	Miss Kerr		22 10 0
Mrs. Miller	0 14 6	Mrs. Fullerton		11 5 0
Mrs. Metz	0 15 0	Mrs. Fruze		3 0 0
Mrs. Cline	0 15 0	Mrs. Macanick		1 10 0
Mrs. Thomas	0 7 6	Miss Garlack		7 10 0
Mrs. Connell	0 15 0	Miss Miller		1 17 6
Mrs. Fry	2 12 6	Mrs. Miller		22 10 0
Mrs. Watson	7 10 0			18 15 0

NO. X.—A SUBSCRIPTION ENTERED INTO BY THE LADIES OF PHILADELPHIA
AS A DONATION TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

The Ward between Walnut and Spruce Streets.

	Paper Dolls.	Specie.		Paper Dolls.	Specie.
Mrs. Wilson	1000	£ s. d.	Cash	200	
Mrs. Mease	1000		Mrs. Copper	30	
J. M. Nesbitt	1000		Cash	20	
Mrs. Nichols	1000		Mrs. Kaner	10	
Mrs. Kean	1000		Mrs. Ball	480	
Mrs. Stuart	100		Cash	120	
Mrs. Kennedy	135		Cash	7	
Mrs. Cunningham		6 0 0	Cash		15 0
Mrs. Wharton	400		Mrs. Audibert		1 10 0
Mrs. Simmons	100		Mr. Audibert		15 0
Mrs. Purden	65		Mrs. Wright		7 6
Mrs. Pennell		3 0 0	Mrs. Hill, of Roxbury	8000	
James McCulloch		3 10 0	Mrs. Morris	10000	
Mrs. Shields		1 15 0	Mrs. J. Willing		3 0 0
Mrs. Purviance		6 0 0	Miss T. Willing		3 0 0
Mrs. Andrew Purviance		3 10 0	Miss Bullock	200	
Mrs. Laurence	170		Cash		3 0 0
Mrs. Lownds	60		Mrs. Margaret Harper	30	
Mrs. Newark	20		Cash	20	
Mrs. Bryan	200		Cash		7 6
Miss Bryan	120		Cash	7	
Mrs. Francis Lewis	320		Cash	11	
Mrs. Buckman	660		Mrs. Cox	22	
Mrs. Cox		3 10 0	Mrs. Shoemaker		15 0
Mrs. Snowden	30		Cash		1 2 6
Mrs. Collier	20		Cash		1 2 6
Mr. Collier	20		Mrs. Barker		7 6
Mrs. J. Snowden	400		Cash		7 6
Mrs. Warner	40		Cash	5	
Mrs. McCroskey	20		Cash	300	
Mrs. Butler	50		Mrs. Bringham		15 0
Mrs. Dingwell	11		Cash	8	
Mrs. Holland	1		Cash	50	
Mrs. Sands	200		Mr. Wharton	—	
Mrs. Wane	63		Mrs. Leiper		3 0 0
Mrs. Stineford	20		Mr. N. Hands	200	
Mrs. J. Crawford	1000		Mrs. Sparrin	100	
Mrs. Brackenberry		1 15 0	Mrs. Spence	40	
Cash		15 0	Mrs. Mathew	—	
Cash	60		Cash	100	
Mrs. Donaldson	1000		Cash	6	
Mrs. Ferrot		3 3	Cash	68	
Mrs. Irvine	400		Cash	40	
Mrs. Burns	140		Cash	8	
Mrs. Cox	500		Mrs. —	100	
Mrs. Woodward		15 0	Mrs. Middleton	50	
Mrs. Ramsay	150		Mrs. Hunt	60	
Mr. A. Nesbitt		3 10 0	Mr. H. Osborn	100	
Cash	60		Mrs. Millbank	600	
Mr. W. Erskine		3 10 0	Mrs. Pemberton		15 0
Mr. A. Holmes	250		Mrs. J. Pennell	500	
Mrs. Front Street		3 0 0	Mrs. Robertson	40	
Mr. B. Dean		3 0 0	Mrs. Powell	1200	
Cash	100		Mrs. Foreman		3 10 0
Mr. Jackson	20		Mrs. Mickie		50
Mrs. Dunn	35		Cash	3	
Mrs. Wilson	200		Mrs. Clymer	3200	
Mrs. Paschall	60		Mrs. Enlen		6 0 0
Cash	20		Mrs. Arnold		6 0 0
Cash	40		Mrs. Mead		3 0 0
Mrs. Frankieberry	40		Cash	13	
Cash	4		Cash	4	
Cash	20		Cash	8	
Mrs. Baker	105		Cash	21	
Mrs. Pidgeon	30		Cash	9	
Cash	30		Cash	6	
Mrs. Comely	—	— — —	Cash	3	
Cash	200		Mrs. Farley		15 0
Mrs. Cunningham	100		Mrs. Meredith	5000	
Cash	—	— — —	Mr. Brown	—	1 15
Cash		15 0	Mrs. Roberts	120	
Cash		7 6	Mr. Morris and daughter	1000	
Mrs. Gibbons		15 0			
Mrs. Fuller	20				

NO. XI.—LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS COLLECTED BETWEEN PINE AND SPRUCE STREETS, BY MRS. M'KEAN, MRS. SEARLE, MRS. J. MEASE, AND MRS. I. MORRIS.

	Cont, Dollars.		Cont, Dollars.
Mrs. M'Kean	1200		
Mrs. Walker	600	Mrs. Richmond	15
Miss Pollard	480	Mrs. Hawkins	75
Mrs. Sutter	100	Mrs. Britton	20
Mrs. Ralston	60	Mrs. Butler	300
Mrs. Boyd	60	Mrs. A. Robinson	300
Mrs. Sawyer	30	Mrs. Fitzgerald	80
Mrs. Hall	100	Cash	800
Mrs. Wainwright	30	Mrs. Stout	100
Mrs. Bussy	60	Miss B. Bridges	400
Cash	50	Mrs. Clarson	300
Cash	45	Miss Sims	100
Mrs. Barrett	20	Mrs. Searle	1000
Cash	20	Mrs. Darrah	100
Mrs. Massey	60	Mrs. Mease	500
Mrs. Miller	170	Miss Nancy Myers	150
Mrs. Vellier	800	Mrs. Phillips	500
Cash	90		
Mrs. Blackston	100		10,046
Cash	20	Mrs. Ralston	100
Mrs. Doz	260	Cash received from sundry persons	1054
Cash	200		
Mrs. M'Kinsey	61		11,200
Mrs. Pryor	60	Miss Haynes	1000
Mrs. Batchelor	60	Mrs. Leman	300
Mrs. Ashmead	300	Mrs. Brenner	300
Mrs. January	180		
Mrs. Marshall	60		
Mrs. Pancake	30		

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED IN HARD MONEY.

	5l.	8s.	8d.		
Mrs. —				Mrs. Coobin	3 9
Mrs. Inglis	5	5	0	Mrs. Shoemaker	1 0
Mrs. Nixon	3	0	0	Cash	3 0 0
Miss Davis	3	0	0	Mrs. Morris	3 0 0
Mrs. Davis	1	17	6	Mrs. Morgan	1 15 0
Mrs. Barclay	1	15	0		
Mrs. Bell					46 19 8
Mrs. Plumsted		15	0	Mrs. Murray	3 0 0
Miss M'Call	3	0	0		
Mrs. Barry	3	0	0		49 19 8
Mrs. F. Gurney	1	15	0	1 Piece of Gold	5 8 0
Mrs. Silver	3	0	0	10 Half Joes	30 0 0
Mrs. Angus		15	0	7½ Guineas, 35s.	13 2 6
Mrs. Gravius		11	3	3 Dollars	1 2 6
PHILLIS		15	0		
Mrs. Robinson		7	6		49 13 0
Mrs. Rigby	1	10	0	Change	6 8
Mrs. Henessy		17	6		
Mrs. Porter		7	6		
Cash		7	6		
Miss Darrah		15	0		
Cash		15	0		

NO. XII.—LIST OF MONEY COLLECTED BY MRS. HILLEGAS, MRS.

CLARKSON, MRS. HASENCLEVER, AND MRS. HUTCHINSON.

			Dollars.		HARD MONEY.	
26	Bills of	.	1	26	Brought forward,	7612 $\frac{1}{2}$
31	"	.	2	62	44 $\frac{3}{4}$ dollars.	£16 2s. 9d.
32	"	.	3	96	8 half Joh's	24 - -
25	"	.	4	100	12 Guineas,	21
51	"	.	5	255	2 Eng. shill.,	- 3 4
15	"	.	6	90	1 copper,	- - 1
29	"	.	7	203		
29	"	.	8	230		61 16 2 is 9889 $\frac{1}{2}$
35	"	.	20	700		
35	"	.	30	1050		\$17501 $\frac{1}{2}$
12	"	.	40	480	Received since the above of	
3	"	.	45	135	Mrs. Walker,	4000
19	"	.	50	950	Of sundries,	16
2	"	.	55	110	Mrs. H.,	600
17	"	.	60	1020	Mrs. Hasenclever, a half Jo-	
9	"	.	65	585	hannes, £3 0 0	480
9	"	.	70	630	Mrs. H.,	500
10	"	.	80	800	Mrs. W.,	420
Small money as per list					Mrs. P.,	30
on the other side				88 $\frac{1}{2}$		
				7612 $\frac{1}{2}$		23547 $\frac{1}{2}$
LIST OF SMALL MONEY.						
1	bill of	40s.	£4	0s. 0d.	Brought forward,	88 8 8
4	"	20	8	0 0	2 "	3 0 6 0
4	"	20	4	0 0	2 "	1 6 0 3 0
3	"	16	2	8 0	5 "	1 3 0 6 3
2	"	12	1	4 0	1 "	0 0 0 1 0
3	"	10	1	10 0	2 "	6 0 1 0
1	"	8	0	8 0	3 "	4 0 1 0
2	"	6	0	12 0	2 "	3 0 0 6
16	"	5	4	0 0		
2	"	4	0	8 0	Carried to the other side,	33 2 6
21	"	3 9d.	3	18 9		
14	"	2 6	1	15 0	£33 2s. 6d. = \$88 $\frac{1}{2}$.	

NO. XIV.—SUBSCRIPTION TO BE ENTERED INTO BY THE GOOD WOMEN OF
GERMANTOWN, AS A DONATION TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY,
TO WHICH THEY ARE SOLICITED TO CONTRIBUTE.

[illegible]

	Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Pistoles.	Moidores.		Cont. Dollars.	Hard Dollars.	Guineas.	Half Johannes.	Pistoles.	Moidores.
Mrs. Moyer . . .	13						Mrs. Adams. . . .	2 $\frac{1}{2}$					
Mrs. Engle . . .		1					Miss Hinderman . .						
Mrs. Oliver . . .	8						Cash						
Mrs. Warner . . .	2						Cash from several per-						
Mrs. Keyser . . .	10						sons in Beggarstown						
Mrs. Reives . . .	8						as per account . .						
Mrs. Will . . .	12						Mrs. Sutton paid \$16;						
Mrs. Brower . . .	20						Mrs. Rose, Mrs.						
Mrs. Lamb . . .	8						McCulloch, Miss						
Mrs. Haas . . .		2					McCulloch, Miss						
Mrs. Strouse . . .	3						Tuston	500 $\frac{1}{2}$					
Mrs. Huter . . .	20							2983 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	2	1	1	1

A SUBSCRIPTION FOR BETTLEHAUSEN, NEAR GERMANTOWN.

	Cont. Dollars.		Cont. Dollars.
Mrs. Smith	45	Brought forward	407
Mrs. Jacoby	15	Mrs. Wolf	2
Mrs. Beck	10	Mrs. Hope	30
Mrs. Frize	80	Mrs. Nungesser	20
Mrs. Simon	30	Mrs. Crout	4
Mrs. Somers	40	Mrs. Adwolf	15
Mrs. Hesser	40	Mrs. Keysell	11
Mrs. Hanover	30	Mrs. Mathews	9
Mrs. Deal	102	Mrs. S novel	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Katy and Sukey Beck	20		500 $\frac{1}{2}$
	407		

INVOICE OF THE CONTINENTAL CASH RECEIVED.

						Cont. Dollars.	
3 bills of 80 dollars each	.	.	.	.	.	240	240
1 " 70 " "	.	.	.	.	.	70	70
2 " 65 " "	.	.	.	.	.	130	130
3 " 60 " "	.	.	.	.	.	180	180
11 " 50 " "	.	.	.	.	.	450	550
1 " 45 " "	.	.	.	.	.	45	45
6 " 40 " "	.	.	.	.	.	240	240
12 " 30 " "	.	.	.	.	.	360	360
5 " 20 " "	.	.	.	.	.	100	100
20 " 8 " "	.	.	.	.	.	160	160
21 " 7 " "	.	.	.	.	.	147	147
9 " 6 " "	.	.	.	.	.	54	54
7 " 5 " "	.	.	.	.	.	85	85
13 " 4 " "	.	.	.	.	.	48	52
18 " 3 " "	.	.	.	.	.	54	54
24 " 2 " "	.	.	.	.	.	48	48
16 " 1 " "	.	.	.	.	.	16	16
22 " $\frac{2}{3}$ " "	.	.	.	.	.	$14\frac{2}{3}$	$14\frac{2}{3}$
15 " $\frac{1}{2}$ " "	.	.	.	.	.	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
16 " $\frac{1}{3}$ " "	.	.	.	.	.	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$5\frac{1}{3}$
10 " $\frac{1}{6}$ " "	.	.	.	.	.	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$
143 " 6d.	.	.	.	.	.	$191\frac{2}{9}$	$191\frac{2}{9}$
						$2475\frac{27}{90}$	$2579\frac{27}{90}$
2 " 8 " 1 of 5	.	.	.	.	.	21	21
1 Guinea instead of a Pistole	.	.	.	.	.	107	
10 silver dollars wanting	.	.	.	.	.	$3603\frac{27}{90}$	

No. III.—Page 286.

MR. SEARLE'S MISSION TO EUROPE.

In Council, Philadelphia, Monday, July 10, 1780.

* * * *

State of Pennsylvania, in North America.

His Excellency, Joseph Reed, Esquire, President and Commander in Chief,—the Honourable John Bayard, Esquire, Speaker of the General Assembly of the said State,

To all Christian Kings, Princes, Powers, States, Republics, Cities and Companies, and to all others to whom these presents shall come, greeting—

Whereas the Legislature of the said State of Pennsylvania, in their late Session held at the State House in the City of Philadelphia, did, on the 29th day of May last, resolve and declare as follows, viz.,

Whereas the present just and necessary War was entered into for the attainment of the inestimable blessings of liberty and secure enjoyment of property, the benefits whereof will extend not only to the present but future generations, and it is therefore highly reasonable that posterity should bear a proportion of the expenses which have already accumulated upon us with considerable inconvenience. And as the fluctuation of the medium of commerce has proved one of the greatest sources of the present evils, which it is our duty and desire to remedy as soon as possible—Resolved, that the President or Vice President in Council, together with the Speaker of this House, be authorized to procure upon loan from such persons as may be disposed to lend the same, and upon the most advantageous terms, a sum not exceeding two hundred thousand pounds sterling in specie.

Resolved, that the faith and honour of this State be most solemnly pledged to ratify any agreement to be made with the authority aforesaid for the purpose aforesaid, and also for the honourable and faithful repayment of the sums so lent, with the interest as aforesaid, according to the tenor of the contract or agreement so to be made in behalf of this State.

Resolved, that this House at their next session will provide by law specific funds for the immediate payment of the interest of the money so borrowed or to be borrowed or contracted for, and also for the repayment of the principal thereof, as the same shall hereafter become due.

We, therefore, the said President, the said Supreme Executive Council, and Speaker of the said House of Assembly, being duly and fully authorized as aforesaid, do nominate, constitute and appoint, the Honourable James Searle, Esquire, one of the delegates of this State in the Honourable the Continental Congress of the United States of North America, late Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the said Congress, one of the Trustees of the University of the said State, and Lieutenant Colonel of the militia thereof, to be our Agent to negotiate and act in the most effectual and efficacious manner as possible can be done for the executing the Act and resolution hereinbefore recited, and for that purpose and effect do promise and engage, in the name and on behalf of the said State, that every contract and engagement into which he may enter for procuring the said sum of money, or any part thereof, and also in fixing the yearly interests and terms of repayment of the capital or principal, shall be performed with all good faith, honour, and punctuality. And to the end that he, the said James Searle, may give and pass, under his hand and seal, such obligatory Acts, Bills of Exchange, or any other deed or instrument as may be deemed necessary and proper by the several contracting parties. By these presents most solemnly and inviolably binding and obliging this State to fulfil and acquit the same agreeable and in strict conformity to the conditions, terms and stipulations therein expressed.

In testimony whereof, we, the said President, Members of the said Supreme Executive Council, and the Speaker of the General Assembly of the said State, have respectively signed these presents, and caused the great seal of this Commonwealth to be hereunto affixed at Philadelphia, this eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1780, and in the fifth of the Independency of these United States.

Attest,

TY. MATLACK, Secretary.

JOSEPH REED, President.

WILLIAM MOORE, Vice-President.

JOSEPH GARDNER,	} Members of the Council.
JACOB ARNDT,	
JOHN HAMBRIGHT,	
JOHN LACEY,	

JOHN BAYARD, Speaker of the General Assembly.

Sundry instructions were also prepared and signed to accompany said commission, which are in the following words, viz. :

In Council, Philadelphia, July 8, 1780.

SIR,

You will herewith receive a commission or power of attorney under the great seal of the Commonwealth to enable you to negotiate a loan for the special uses of this State ; this power or authority is founded on a solemn Act of the Legislature, and in pursuance thereof, you will with all convenient expedition depart for Europe on the above business, and proceeding to such countries or states as you shall judge most likely to favour your views,

and negotiate with any public bodies, private companies, or individuals, the above-mentioned loan, and in the prosecution thereof you will please to conform to the following particulars:—

First. That the sum to be borrowed amount to two hundred thousand pounds sterling, if it can be obtained, and if so much cannot be obtained, then as nearly that amount as possible.

Secondly. That the interest upon the sum borrowed do not exceed five per cent. per annum,—if it can be obtained on better terms, it will be the greater advantage to the State.

Thirdly. That the time of repayment of the principal do not exceed ten years, in which time it is presumed the interest and situation of the State may make it proper and convenient to reimburse a part, if not the whole of the principal.

Fourthly. You are to correspond constantly with the President, or in case of his death or absence, with the Vice-President of the State, giving as particular and precise an account of your proceedings as may be.

Fifthly. Having succeeded (as we hope you will) in the important business intrusted to your care, you will dispose of the money procured in the following manner: First, you are to purchase clothing and military stores agreeable to an invoice or order presented you herewith, signed by the President of the Council. Secondly, the residue of the money, after such purchase, to be applied as follows, viz.: one-fourth part thereof to be remitted in specie to the President and Council; one-fourth part to be laid out in such articles of merchandise as will be most useful and profitable, such as coarse linens and woollens, sail duck, osnabergs, one hundred chests of bohea tea, and twenty-five chests of green.

Sixthly. The money and goods to be sent in Dutch bottoms, by way of St. Eustatia, addressed to the order of Curzon and Gouverneur, merchants there, whom you will advise particularly. But as this circuitous route will greatly delay the supplies, which are much wanted, we leave to your judgment and discretion to ship or freight, if it can be done, in vessels of not less than twenty-six guns, nine-pounders each, or if no such opportunities of freight can be procured, we authorize you to charter two such vessels for the special purpose, if you shall think proper, in either case assuring them of a return freight of the staple of this State, or of tobacco. And always to be understood that in every event and case the whole risk to be insured at the most favourable premium. To provide as fully as may be, we have furnished you with three blank commissions, such as are granted by Congress, and to be used by the vessels you may employ, if you shall judge necessary.

Seventhly. If one or two good vessels of the above force can be procured at a reasonable price, we authorize you to make an optional bargain therefor, that is to say, the price being fixed, the State to have the choice here of taking such ship or ships at such price, either paying the outward freight or not as you may agree. Upon further consideration of the sixth article, we leave to your discretion the choice of the agents at St. Eustatia, if you

should think the public may be better served by any other persons. Wishing you a safe and pleasant voyage and success in your negotiations. We remain, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble servants,

JOSEPH REED, President.

WILLIAM MOORE, Vice-President.

JOHN BAYARD, Speaker Gen. Ass.

JOSEPH GARDNER,

JACOB ARNDT,

JOHN HAMBRIGHT,

JOHN LACEY.

An invoice of goods to be shipped on account of this State was also prepared, read and agreed to, and the same directed to be signed by the President, which is as follows:

Invoice of sundry articles to be purchased in behalf of the State of Pennsylvania by James Searle, Esq., for 350 officers and 6000 privates. 350 beaver hats; 12,000 do. felt, regimental; 20,000 good blankets; 1750 yards 6-4 deep blue coating, at 6s. 2d. sterling per yard, for great coats for officers; 30,000 yards of do., from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. do. for privates; 6000 yards of red do. at do.; 875 yards of blue broadcloth, at 15s. 2d. per yard, for coats for officers; 875 yards of white do. at do. for do.; 55 pieces of blue and 35 pieces white rattinets, at 50s. sterling per piece; 10 scarlet do. at 70s. 2d. do.; 70 gross flat regimental white metal coat buttons with shanks, and 1800 gross vest do. at 4s. sterling per gross; 10 pounds best scarf blue twist, 10 do. scarlet, and 10 do. white, at 27s. 2d. per pound; 10 pounds best scarlet, 10 pounds blue, and 10 pounds white sewing silk; 15,000 yards deep blue 6-4 broadcloth, and 15,000 yards white do., for soldier's clothing, at 5s. 6d. per yard; 200 pieces white shalloons, at 35s. per piece, for lining; 100 pounds red and 200 pounds white twist, at 18s. per pound; 1000 yards deep blue and 1000 yards white 6-4 cloth, for non-commissioned officers, at 8s. 2d. per yard; 500 yards scarlet broadcloth, at 18s. 2d. per yard; 9000 yards red do. at 5s. 6d. do.; 150 yards scarlet do. at 9s. 6d.; 1000 pounds best blue, 1000 pounds white, and 50 pounds red thread, at 2s. 6d.; 8000 yards brown buckram, at 9d.; 500 yards white do. at 1s. 2d.; 2500 yards white and 5000 yards of red flannel, at 1s. 2d.; 500 pieces blue stroud; 350 pair silk hose, white, at 14s.; 700 pair of white thread or cotton, at 5s.; 350 pair of white worsted do. at 4s.; 300 pieces of duck, fit for tents; 24,000 pair of white yarn hose, for soldiers, at 1s. 6d.; 300 pieces of gartering, 350 pair of boots, 700 pair of good shoes, for officers; 24,000 pair of strong shoes, for soldiers; 10,000 ivory small teeth combs; 10,000 large do.; 4000 yards linen for officers' shirts, at 2s. 6d. per yard; 70,000 yards do. for soldiers, at 1s. 3d.; cambric suitable for one ruffled shirt and three stocks for each officer; do. for three stocks for each soldier;

20 gross of wire shirt buttons; suitable thread for 1050 shirts for officers, and 18,000 shirts for privates; 6000 pair plain steel shoe-buckles, for soldiers; 6000 pair knee do. and 6000 stock buckles; 1000 best fusees, 1000 best rifles, 250 carbines; 6000 pair of white metal sleeve buttons; 350 pair of worsted gloves for officers; 6000 pair woollen mitts for soldiers; 25,000 ells of Osna-bergs; 400 shoulder-knots for corporals, &c.; 5000 stand of good muskets, &c.; 1000 horse-pistols, with holsters; 100 reams writing paper, well sorted, with an assortment of stationary; 1000 barrels of musket-powder (100 pounds in each barrel); 250 barrels of cannon-powder; 5 tons of bar lead, 1,000,000 best oil flints; 1000 razors, with shaving boxes; 6000 cuttce knives and forks in sheaths; 400 sergeant's sashes; 24 pieces of iron cannon, 24 and 32 pounds; 1750 yards Russia drilling, for officers' overalls; 30,000 yards do. coarse, for soldiers do.; nankeens about 5000 yards, sheet copper, block tin, sheet lead, sheet tin.

JOSEPH REED,
President.

July 8th, 1780.

A commission of Lientenant of militia in this State (by brevet) was also signed and sealed to the said Mr. Searle.

Upon a conference also with the said Mr. Searle, touching a compensation for his agency, it was proposed and agreed to that in all events the expenses of the said Mr. Searle should be defrayed by the State, and that at the next meeting of Assembly it should be proposed that a Committee of the House, in conjunction with this Board, should fix such compensation; either an allowance of a gross sum over and above all expenses, or a commission, according to usual mercantile form, to which, in mode and substance, Mr. Searle declared his readiness to conform.

In Council, Philadelphia, Thursday, July 13th, 1780.

Whereas it is represented to this Board that the Hon. the Congress have instructed the Hon. Mr. Laurens, their agent for procuring a foreign loan, to offer an interest of six per cent., from which there is reason to apprehend that difficulties may arise in effecting the proposed loan in behalf of the State, at the proposed rate of five per cent. Whereupon on full consideration, Resolved, that it be recommended to the Hon. James Searle, Esq., if he shall find it indispensably necessary, to offer an equal interest with the above, and that this Board will, at the next sessions, communicate the same to the Hon. House of Assembly for their approbation and confirmation.

JAMES SEARLE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Paris, 14th February, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

On the 12th of November last I had the honour of writing fully to your Excellency by Capt. Kollock, who went passenger from Amsterdam to St. Eustatia in his way to Philadelphia, and as I have forwarded four copies of that letter by St. Eustatia, and from France, I would hope that at least one may have got safe to your hands.

I am greatly mortified at not having to this day received a single line from your Excellency on the subject of my mission to Europe, and I am the more disappointed as I fully relied on receiving the further proceedings of the Honourable the Assembly on the subject. I see, indeed, by a paragraph in your Excellency's message to the Assembly, under the 6th November, that you had particularly recommended it to the House to attend to the business, and in consequence thereof I hope soon to be honoured with their further proceedings and your further instructions. I am equally mortified to be obliged to say that I have not been able to succeed in the business upon which I was sent to 15, notwithstanding I have used every prudent means in my power in 15. The critical and delicate situation of that country for some time past has rendered every attempt either by me or by Mr. E. unsuccessful for the present.

I flatter myself, however, a very short space of time will produce a wonderful alteration in our favour, and I shall not fail to improve every opportunity that may offer, and mean to return thither very shortly for that purpose, having, in the mean time, empowered Messrs. John De Neufville and Son to take the first occasion of beginning the business. When I found that nothing could at that time be expected where I was, I determined to make a trial in this country, and for that purpose procured from Mr. E. an introduction to the Farmers General in this city, hoping to be able to do something through them. Mr. E. approved of the measure, and I accordingly arrived here about three weeks since. I have had some conversation with the Farmers General, or, more properly, with one of the leading and principal persons, but hitherto nothing has taken effect.

I find (and I am truly sorry to see it), a spirit of doubt and disconfidence in many of the worthy people of this country with respect to America, and unless some speedy and effectual measures are taken on our side the water to counteract the baneful influence that the conversation of the disappointed, mortified, and scheming G. has upon the minds of many people here, I fear very bad consequences may attend it.

This man has the countenance and protection of C. to a very great degree, by which means he is attended to, and he is doing the greatest injury to 16 in every company he can get admittance to.

There are others, also, who make no scruple to treat the councils of 16 with every possible insult and misrepresentation, I mean a certain Doctor Bancroft, who does it openly at the public table of C. Mr. Cha—m——t, the great patron of O., has also become outrageous and open-mouthed against the measures of A. Z., which he represents and calls wicked and villanous, and has even threatened to expose, as he terms it, their base conduct to the world. All this is done in the most open manner at the place of residence of C. I find Mr. C. the declared enemy of private State loans, and have therefore not been able to get any assistance, or the offer of any, through that channel, and the two persons above mentioned, I mean G. and Bancroft, are using every means in their power to counteract the public as well as private loans, which loans, if effected through any other than a particular channel, would interfere with their connexion in the public supply of our army, &c. Alas, sir, there are, I fear, Arnolds in France, natives of America.

Thus circumstanced I cannot say that my prospects are great. I will, however, continue to do all in my power, and shall leave no stone unturned to effect in part or in the whole the business I was sent upon.

Mr. Pinet, of Nantz, was in this city about ten days since. I found him out, and conversed with him upon the subject of the arms. He tells me that he had made application for leave to send the arms for our state in a frigate, that he would inform me of the success of his application, and if he succeeded he would immediately send the arms, provided I would take upon me to engage that the State would receive them, or stand to the agreement, notwithstanding the time had elapsed. I told him I would readily do it when I found he had obtained the permission he mentioned. I expect to hear from him in a few days, but I fear we cannot depend upon the business being complied with.

The large ship that I mentioned in a former letter, and which I expected would leave Holland about Christmas, has been detained. She will, I expect, sail soon after I get to Holland, and I shall use my influence to convince Commodore Gillon, who commands her, of the propriety of making the Delaware his rendezvous. She is unquestionably the finest ship in the world. She mounts twenty-eight guns of thirty-six pound shot on one deck, and has twelve guns of twelve pound shot on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, and in my opinion is a match for any ship of sixty-four guns that floats.

I have just heard from Mr. Franklin that young Colonel Laurens may be hourly expected to arrive in France as Minister Extraordinary, at which I am most sincerely rejoiced, and I would flatter myself I shall hear fully from your Excellency by him. There never was a moment in my opinion when the interests of America so much required a faithful, honest, firm and well-informed servant in France as the present.

I request your Excellency to present my best respects to the Honourable

Council, who, I hope, will do me the justice to believe me the *faithful* servant at least of my country.

I beg leave, with every sentiment of respect, to assure your Excellency of my regard and esteem for your person, and to profess myself

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

JAMES SEARLE.

SAME TO SAME.

Paris, 10th March, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote pretty fully to your Excellency about three weeks since by a Mr. Romaine, and sent four copies of that letter to L'Orient to be sent by different vessels. In that letter I mentioned that I was using my best endeavours in the business of our State in this city. For that purpose I made myself acquainted with a very considerable company called the Company of Lyons, who are the persons that supply the French army, and are called the *Fournisseurs Generaux*. After having taken what I thought every prudent step in my power, and having endeavoured to impress them with the importance of our State, and having made it a point that they should also inform themselves from Mr. C. about my powers, and the permanency of the security I was authorized to give as agent for the State, and after having waited a long time, I received this morning a writing from them purporting that they were ready to treat with me as agent for Pennsylvania when they should find I was acknowledged as such by A. Z., and the measure approved by A. Z., and would in that case furnish everything that might be wanted upon good and easy terms, but that they could know no State but Congress, or could treat with none as a separate State without the sanction of Congress.

In one word, sir, from the quarter whence I ought to have had assistance, I can get none, and instead of being warmly interested in the business of 23, the gentlemen tell me they met with a cold and rather discouraging account from C. upon their application made to him at my request. In truth, sir, it is full time for the State, if she means to have this business pursued and brought to a point, to procure orders from A. Z. to Mr. C. and Mr. E. to co-operate all in their power with your agent, and even to guarantee the measures of 23 if necessary. As A. Z. has called upon the different States to make every provision for their respective troops, and as in my opinion it is the most effectual if not the only method by which a regular and adequate supply can be obtained, there is the greatest propriety in, and necessity for such guarantee.

This very Company have made an offer to C. to supply the United States with the necessary articles for our army to any amount not exceeding ten millions of livres, upon good terms, and on a long credit, paying an annual

interest, but hitherto nothing has been done in the business by C., although the offer has been made some time. I wish the supplying our army from this side the water may not be monopolized, and put into the hands of some of the least deserving of our countrymen. I had given in to the Company an invoice of the articles I was directed to procure for our line, to which I had added such others as were directed in your instructions to me. Those articles would have amounted nearly to two millions of livres, and they would have furnished them, upon good terms, at three, four, or five years, upon receiving such guarantee as I have mentioned, but alas ! it was not in my power to offer it.

I would still flatter myself I may hear from your Excellency soon upon the further measures taken by the Assembly respecting the business I am sent upon, and once for all permit me to say it, and with great delicacy I would wish to say it, that I feel myself much hurt by the delay of this business with the Assembly, and I find myself mortified at not having had the honour of a line from your Excellency or the Honourable Council since my arrival in Europe. It not only hurts but embarrasses me greatly.

I shall set out for Amsterdam in a few days unless I find I may do something of importance in this city soon, but this I do not expect under the present embarrassments which I have already mentioned.

I enclose your Excellency a copy of the answer I this day received from the Clothiers-General in the handwriting of the Honourable Mr. Dana.

I shall continue to embrace every opportunity of writing to your Excellency, and you may expect to hear from me from Holland soon after you receive this letter. In the mean time I remain, with very great respect,

Dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES SEARLE.

I beg the favour of your Excellency to send word to Mrs. Searle that I am in perfect health, that I wrote fully to her by Mr. Romaine, who goes passenger with Captain Bell, and that she may expect to hear from me soon from Holland.

This letter goes by Monsieur De Letombe, Consul-General of France, who goes to Philadelphia in his way to Boston, where he means to reside. I was introduced to him by Mr. Adams, who has a very great esteem for him. I have taken the liberty to give Monsieur De Letombe a letter to your Excellency. You will find him a gentleman, and I persuade myself *he* will make himself agreeable to our countrymen.

WAY OF THINKING ON MR. SEARLE'S PROPOSAL.

10th March, 1781.

The Province of Pennsylvania is almost to the Congress what the Province of Bretagne is to our Government ; she furnishes of herself her share of the general expenses of the kingdom, but when she borrows money, or

does anything else for the Province, it must be known to the Government. If Pennsylvania is absolutely free, and independent of the Congress's supremacy, no doubt she is a particular Government. But we only know the Congress; then we cannot treat with Mr. Searle as a representative of a province we don't believe independent, without a particular security. If, on the contrary, he is willing to negotiate his affair as an Envoy of Pennsylvania acknowledged by the Congress, the Company will procure him every merchandise he wants with convenient terms.

MESSRS. LES FOURNISSEURS GENERAUX
DES ARMEES DU ROY DU FRANCE.

JAMES SEARLE TO PRESIDENT REED.

Paris, 20th March, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

You have herewith a duplicate of what I had the honour to write to your Excellency on the 10th inst. by Monsieur De Letombe, the Consul-General of France, since which I have the pleasure of receiving your favour of the 30th December to 2d January, by the Hon. Col. Laurens, who arrived in this city on the 15th inst. The sundry papers mentioned in it came duly to hand, and among them is the Act of Assembly of 23d December last for an impost on goods, &c., signed by the Speaker, and attested by the Clerk of the House of Assembly. I am most sincerely mortified to be obliged to inform your Excellency that I have not been able to meet with the least success in this country, notwithstanding my faithful endeavours, by every means in my power. I shall therefore leave this city for Amsterdam on Sunday next in company with the Honourable Mr. Dana, who I believe is to go farther to the northward.

I am equally mortified to be constrained to say that I have but very slender hopes of success even in Holland. I received a letter from Messrs. De Neufville dated the 8th instant, in which they give me very little hopes of anything being done there for our State soon, and recommend it to me to push the matter if possible where I am. A subscription for a loan for A. Z. has been open since the 1st inst. under the management of those gentlemen, but nothing is done as yet. The hopes of an accommodation between Holland and England, through the mediation of Russia, has retarded the measure very much for the present. After I have again had an opportunity of consulting those gentlemen and Mr. Adams in Holland, I shall be able to write with more certainty of the success I may meet with, but really I have very little hopes.

The mortifications I have met with since my arrival in Europe, and the very great anxiety of mind I have been and am still under, have injured my health to a very great degree, insomuch that I am scarcely able to walk or write. I trust in God, however, my journey to Holland may in some mea-

sure restore my health and spirits, and when I get to Amsterdam I shall leave no stone unturned to procure a loan, and shall endeavour to impress the money-lenders with a proper idea of the solidity of the security that Pennsylvania is able to give them. As my staying in Europe without hopes of success can answer no good purpose, but will incur so much the more expense to the State, I must entreat your Excellency and the Honourable Council to give me as soon as possible discretionary orders to return if I cannot meet with success by a certain or fixed time, as at present I do not hold myself entirely at liberty to return until I receive your orders for that purpose, unless my declining health should render it absolutely necessary, and the expense of travelling and living in Holland is beyond all bounds.

I shall not fail to consult Mr. Adams on the business recommended to me in your Excellency's letter of 30th Dec. respecting the Consul of France, and shall, if we agree in opinion, transmit your letter to Mons. De Castries and shall write to him on the subject at the same time. That Minister is at present at Brest, so that I could not see him even if Mr. Adams was here, and approved of my doing it, but circumstanced as things are at this critical moment, I cannot help thinking Mr. Adams would be of opinion it had better be postponed for the present.

I am greatly mortified at your not having received any of the letters I have written you since the few lines of 2d September, as mentioned in your letter.

I sent four copies of mine of 2d September; three copies of a long letter of 17th September, from Paris; a few lines under the 5th October from Paris; four copies of a long letter from Amsterdam, under the 12th November, original of which was sent by a Captain Kollock; three copies of a long letter, under the 14th February, from Paris; and two copies of a long letter, under the 10th inst.; and I hope one at least of each of them will find their way to you.

Since writing thus far, I have received a letter from a considerable House at Bourdeaux, of 17th inst., in which is the following paragraph in answer to an application I made them some time since: "Could you procure a proportion of the capital, say one-fourth in cash, or by a credit on a noted banker at Paris, and could engage the reimbursement of the other three-fourths in five years, say by fifths, one-fifth annually, so that the whole could be settled in that time, interest payable in Paris for the advances to their reimbursement, I could procure to the amount of 20,000 pounds sterling in clothing suitable to your demand. The remittance to be made to us in bills on tobacco to our consignment."

It is now the 22d March, and I have this day received your Excellency's letter of 26th January, which was forwarded to me from Nantes. The defection of some of the Pennsylvania Line has not had the bad effect in Europe that might have been expected from such an event. The people on this side the water hear with admiration the proceedings of the insurgents, and lament the situation of our struggling country under such complicated difficulties; this may, perhaps, have a tendency to excite an emulation to

assist us properly. But alas! in the country I now write from, individuals must not undertake anything without the sanction of their rulers, who will only proceed in their own way.

We have just received the account of the capture of St. Eustatia, St. Martins, &c. Heaven only knows how this will affect the measures of Holland, but I should rather think that after the first shock is over they will proceed to act with vigour and spirit, and will, when they once get to business, it is my opinion, fully avenge themselves upon their insulting enemies; they certainly have it abundantly in their power, and I believe will now be roused. The answer of the States-General to the Manifesto of England was published the 20th inst., and I am endeavouring to procure one, if possible, to send to you. You mention, in your letter of 26th January, that some changes may happen which may tend to make my situation more honourable and more advantageous to me. Alas! my dear sir, (permit me to say friend,) my own change will, I am fully convinced, put me beyond the good or ill offices of my friends or foes before the time you speak of next October.

I implore you to bear with what may be thought weakness, but I am under so full a persuasion of what I now say that I must proceed one step farther, and recommend to the protection of you and my country my dear unfortunate wife, who has deserved a better and a happier lot, and with anguish of soul I add that I find myself reduced, after a life of care and anxiety, to a state of penury, at a time that I at least flattered myself with a small independence.

This unexpected situation has arisen from an unfortunate India transaction in which my partners had engaged, by which we shall lose 18,000 pounds sterling, of which about one-third falls to my share, and puts the finishing stroke to my distresses.

I most sincerely lament the domestic distresses which you have had since I left you, and may Heaven strengthen you under that and all your other trials. I expect soon to write you from Amsterdam, and in the mean time I remain, with very great sincerity,

Dear Sir, your most affectionate friend and obedient servant,

J. S.

In Council, Philadelphia, Monday, April 16, 1781.

A Resolution of the Honourable House of Assembly of the 10th instant was received and read, containing the report of the Committee of the House on the subject of recalling Mr. Searle, &c., and empowering the President and Council to recall or continue the Honourable James Searle, Esquire, as they shall think most consistent with the interests of this Commonwealth, the House fully confiding in their judgment and zeal for the public service.

In Council, Philadelphia, Saturday, July 21, 1781.

The Board, taking into consideration the letters received from the Hon. Mr. Searle, by which it appears that unexpected embarrassments and ob-

structions have impeded the designs of his mission, and Congress have reasonable prospects of a considerable supply of clothing and military stores, which make it less necessary to involve this State in partial expense.

Resolved, that it is the sense of this Board that Mr. Searle do return as soon as conveniently he can after the receipt of this minute, unless he should have actually obtained a loan of money, or entered into a positive contract for the articles enumerated in his instructions, for the completion of which his attendance should be absolutely necessary.

In Council, Philadelphia, March 27, 1782.

SIR,

Your letters dated Paris, 16th December, 1781, and 10th January, 1782, have been received, read in Council, and communicated to a Committee of the General Assembly.

Captains Truxton and Angus are arrived, and as we have no account of any arms brought by them on account of the State, I suppose they have not been forwarded. If they should not be actually shipped before this reaches you, the Council and Committee of General Assembly are of opinion it will not be proper to ship them, and you will please to govern yourself accordingly. All thoughts of obtaining supplies from abroad on the credit of the State are at present wholly laid aside, which renders it unnecessary for you to continue your attention to that object.

The Council have no doubt of your faithful exertions to effect the object on which you went to Europe, acknowledge your zeal in the public service, and the spirit of patriotism which they are sensible has actuated you on all occasions, and they lament the losses and misfortunes which have borne so hard upon you. Be assured, sir, that your name will be respected for the disinterested part which you have acted, and the Council will be happy to render you their acknowledgments in a way the most agreeable to you.

There does not appear to be a necessity for your making a voyage to this State, as your accounts cannot need any explanation but such as may be readily transmitted here, and as to the time which you propose as the date of your declining your public character, there cannot be on the part of the State any objections to it.

We sincerely wish you success in your mercantile plan, and hope you will meet with that encouragement and support in it which your abilities and integrity entitle you to.

And as to the loss which you have sustained by the death of your amiable wife, the Council sincerely sympathize with you therein; but it is one of those cases in which the great Governor of the Universe is entitled to exercise his *sovereign will*, and it is at once our duty and greatest consolation, as you justly express it, to bow the head in obedience to him.

I am, with sincere and affectionate esteem,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

Endorsed—To HONOURABLE JAMES SEARLE, Esq.]

[This letter, though not signed by President Moore, is the one referred to in the latter part of Mr. Searle's letter of 23d July, 1782, to him. —J. W. H.]

Baskinridge, New Jersey, 23d July, 1782.

SIR,—

Agreeable to your desire, I trouble you with the substance (in writing) of what I had the honour of communicating to you in Council the day after my return to Philadelphia, respecting my unsuccessful mission to Europe as Agent for the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of procuring a sum of money on loan for the use of the said State.

In consequence of the commission and instructions I received from his Excellency the President, together with the Honourable Council and the Honourable the Speaker of the House of Assembly, dated the 8th July, 1780, I lost no time in embarking for Europe. On my arrival at Paris (in my way to Holland) in Sept. 1780, I made every necessary inquiry respecting the nature of the business I was sent upon. I found that I was more likely to succeed in Holland than in any other part of Europe, and therefore, after having obtained letters of introduction to some of the most capital houses of business at Amsterdam, I proceeded immediately to that city, where I found Mr. Adams, the Minister of America, to whom I had a letter from his Excellency the President of Pennsylvania, requesting his assistance and friendship in the business, both which I experienced in the greatest degree. I made an early acquaintance with the House of Messrs. John De Neufville and Son of Amsterdam, who were represented to me as the firm friends of America, and who were afterwards applied to by Mr. Adams to negotiate a loan for the United States. These gentlemen assisted me in making every inquiry and taking every measure to obtain the loan by applying to the different capitalists, and employing also the most considerable stock brokers, agreeable to the custom of Holland. But I found the people so much under the influence of their fears of offending their Governors, who were on their parts said to be attached to the British interests and measures, that notwithstanding every effort we could make we did not meet with the least success in obtaining the money, and, indeed, Mr. Adams himself, after using every means in his power, found it in vain, even though his application was in the name of the United States, nor had he been able to succeed in the smallest degree at the time I left Europe.

I had an offer made me through Messrs. De Neufville of a considerable quantity of coarse cloths, and many other articles which I was instructed to purchase if I had obtained the loan, but this offer was only confined to a credit of thirty months, or three years, paying interest. I informed His Excellency, the President of the State, of this offer in my letters of 12th November, 1780, and at the same time suggested the procuring, if possible, the guarantee of Congress for the State of Pennsylvania in this loan, which I am persuaded would have effected it. When I found the navigation totally

shut up in Holland for some months, I determined, after having consulted Mr. Adams, to return to Paris, and try other methods in that city. For this purpose I obtained letters from Mr. Adams to the friends of some of the most considerable Farmers General at Paris, to whom I made many applications. Those gentlemen could only think of furnishing the money conditioned to be paid in tobacco in the course of one or two years, and delivered to them at a fixed price, and at the risk of the State. When I found nothing could be done with them, I applied myself to a considerable company of gentlemen called the Company of Lyons, who were the furnishers of the armies of France. Upon some prospect of success with them, I delivered them an invoice of all the articles I was directed to procure, which, according to their calculation, would have amounted to something more than two millions of livres. They offered to furnish all the articles upon the terms the King's troops were supplied as to price, and upon a credit of three, four, and five years, provided I could obtain the guarantee of Congress for the State, and without which they could not prevail upon themselves to undertake the business. But as I was by no means prepared to comply with their demands, the business was dropped. I returned once more to Holland, but with little hopes of success, and the event fully justified my fears, as I was not able to succeed in the least in Holland. I beg leave here just to mention that I was not singular in not succeeding, as agents from Massachusetts and Virginia had in vain attempted loans in Holland, &c., and even Mr. Adams did not succeed in the smallest degree. I remained in Holland until August, 1781, when my weak state of health made it absolutely necessary for me to leave a climate which had so greatly injured my constitution, but after an unsuccessful attempt to return to America, I was again carried to Europe.

It is not proper to trouble your Excellency with the particulars of my disappointments and perplexities in this voyage, and shall only observe that upon my being again in France I had an offer of being supplied with the money I had been endeavouring to procure, upon condition I could obtain the guarantee aforesaid, and would agree to lay this money out in the country from which I obtained the loan, to which there could have been no hesitation if I had been authorized to pursue the business. This offer was made to me by the agent of a powerful Northern monarch, and if the business had been effected, it was hinted that a neutral protection could have been obtained for any effects that might have been shipped.

Having received the Resolve of the Honourable Council dated 21st July 1781, for my recall, which reached me in November at L'Orient, I laid aside all further steps in the business, and accordingly embarked for America, and arrived at Philadelphia in the last month.

I shall just beg leave to observe to your Excellency that although my endeavours have not been crowned with success, owing to the critical situation of Holland at the time with England, yet no steps were left untried on my part, and my solicitude and anxiety in this business have been beyond

what I have ever before experienced, and my health and fortune greatly impaired by a business which I undertook in obedience to the commands of the Honourable Council and Assembly.

I trust, however, my well-meant endeavours for the service of Pennsylvania will meet with its approbation, and perhaps be thought sufficient to give me claim to its future protection and attention. This I am the more induced to hope for from the obliging letter I have received from your Excellency in Council, dated 27th March last, which was delivered to me by your order since my arrival from Europe. And here I cannot avoid just mentioning to your Excellency that my losses by the War, and my embarrassments in money matters, owing to the present situation of the public funds, in which I had early placed a considerable sum, would make any favour or attention of the State peculiarly acceptable to me at this time.

I have the honour to be, with very great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES SEARLE.

His Excellency WILLIAM MOORE, Esq.,

President of the State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

No. IV. p. 381.

SKETCH OF THE LIVES OF EDWARD AND CLEMENT BIDDLE, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

EDWARD BIDDLE was the fourth son of William Biddle and Mary Scull, daughter of Nicholas Scull, surveyor-general of Pennsylvania. He entered as an ensign the provincial army at the commencement of the war with France, in 1756; during the progress of which he displayed a great aptness for military affairs. At the peace of 1763 he settled in Reading, and devoted himself to the profession of the law, in which he arrived at great eminence. He was sent to the Assembly of Pennsylvania, where he was chosen Speaker, and afterwards sent as one of the delegates to the first Congress. During its session in 1775 he had a violent attack of illness, from the effects of which he lost the sight of one of his eyes, and although he lived till nearly five years afterwards, was never able to resume his seat. He died at Baltimore on the 5th of September, 1779, in the 41st year of his age. Had his health permitted, he would undoubtedly have held a high rank in the army of the United States. Notices of him will be found in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, Vol. I. 338, Dunlap's paper, Sept. 9th, 1779.

CLEMENT BIDDLE was born in Philadelphia on the 10th of March, 1740,

and died, in the same city, on the 14th of July, 1814, in the 75th year of his age. His ancestors were among the early Friends or Quakers, who emigrated to the Province of New Jersey in the year 1682, having purchased proprietary West Jersey rights under Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas, derived from Lord Carteret, and settled on the Delaware below Bordentown. We find different members of the family mentioned in Smith's History of New Jersey, as Presidents of the West Jersey Board of Proprietors, Members of the Council, in the Commission to treat with the Indians, &c., prior to the consolidation of the two Provinces of East and West Jersey in one government, under Lord Cornbury.

Mr. Biddle afterwards settled in Philadelphia as a merchant. In 1764, the massacre of the Indians at Lancaster by what were called the Paxton Boys, the chief insurgents being residents of Paxton township in that county, aroused a spirit of indignation among the Quakers in Philadelphia, and participating in the feelings of his friends among the anti-proprietary party, he united with a body of Quaker gentlemen, among whom were the venerable Edward Penington and Walter Franklin, in forming a military corps to defend the Indians, who had fled to Philadelphia, and were lodged in the jail for protection. After the suppression by the authorities of the tumult, this breach of Quaker discipline, in taking up arms, was passed over without much, or any, censure, by the Society of Friends, to which these gentlemen belonged. It was not considered that the laws had been properly vindicated by the Provincial Executive, but that the Government winked at the lawless conduct of these frontier settlers, from an anxiety to obtain their support in returning, at the Provincial elections, their own members eligible to seats, to the Legislature.

These local differences were, however, soon merged in the greater questions which arose out of the legislation of Great Britain in relation to the taxation of the Colonies, and the extent to which it might be carried by the Mother Country. Accordingly we find Colonel Biddle, with his elder and only brother, Owen Biddle, (afterwards one of the members of the Convention that formed the first State Constitution of Pennsylvania,) united with nearly every other merchant and trader in Pennsylvania in the Non-Importation Agreement of the year 1763. In that early stage of the revolutionary movement against the unjust claims of Great Britain, Colonel Biddle joined in opposition to these measures, whilst he did not, at that time, look to or desire an entire separation from the Mother Country, with which there were then so many ties to connect the American people. The British measures were such, however, that all patriotic Americans soon became satisfied of the necessity for military preparation, and accordingly, in the year 1775, two volunteer companies were raised in Philadelphia, afterwards known as the "Silk Stocking" and the "Quaker" companies. In the formation of this latter corps, Colonel Biddle, with its commander, afterwards Colonel Cowperthwaite, and Richard Humphreys, took an active and efficient part, and before the company left

Philadelphia to join the army, was elected an officer. On the 8th of July, 1776, Congress appointed Mr. Biddle Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Flying Camp, composed of the volunteer militia of Jersey and Pennsylvania, and was ordered to Trenton. He was present at the battle of Trenton, and near General Washington when the Hessians laid down their arms, and, with Colonel Baylor of Virginia, was ordered by the General, on the surrender of the Hessians, to receive the swords of the officers.

From this time he continued in active service, and on the junction of the Flying Camp with the army was appointed Commissary-General of Forage. He was present at the several battles of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. Although anxious to return to civil life, he was induced by General Washington and General Greene, who both highly appreciated his services, to remain with the army, on the Staff, till September, 1780, when he returned to private life in Philadelphia.

On the 11th of September, 1781, he was appointed Quartermaster-General of Pennsylvania, an appointment he held for many years, and served with the army, in that capacity, in the expedition under General Washington against the whiskey insurgents of Pennsylvania in 1794.

On the formation of the Federal Government, Colonel Biddle was appointed by General Washington Marshal of Pennsylvania, enjoyed the esteem, and was in constant confidential intercourse and correspondence with him until within a few days of the General's death.

In his political opinions Colonel Biddle adhered to what was then called the Constitutional party of Pennsylvania. He refused to become a member of the Society of Cincinnati, and advocated, as a part of the Federal Constitution, a declaration or bill of rights, which afterwards was incorporated into that instrument. Colonel Biddle's personal attachment to Washington, Greene, and Knox, was not exceeded by any of his brother officers during their Revolutionary career, and at its most trying periods, both in public and private life. General Washington's correspondence with him, from a short time after he took the command of the army, to within a few days before the close of his life, on all his private affairs, furnishes the best evidence not only of his high esteem, but warm regard for Colonel Biddle. General Greene was his bosom friend and correspondent; and when General Washington entrusted to him the important command of the Southern army, he was most anxious to induce Colonel Biddle to accompany him, with the appointment of Quartermaster-General, which his establishment in Philadelphia obliged him to decline.

After his return from Camp he was intimately associated, and took an active part with his friends, the leaders of the Constitutional party in Philadelphia. Occupied with business to the close of a long and laborious life, much of the time as a Notary Public, in the most extensive and lucrative practice, such was the high estimation in which he was held by the merchants of Philadelphia, that he became not only their

commercial adviser, in insurance cases, and in relation to other shipping interests, but an umpire among them, whose authority on most practical questions of commercial laws was recognised and adopted. He terminated his upright and active career with the steady and affectionate regard of numerous friends, and enjoying the confidence and esteem of the community in which he had passed a long life.

No. V.—Page 396.

GENERAL GREENE'S LETTERS.

[For the following letters, hitherto unpublished, I am indebted to Mr. Thomas Biddle, and the family of General Otho H. Williams of Baltimore. They serve to complete the series of letters from the South.]

GENERAL GREENE TO CLEMENT BIDDLE.

Ramapough, June 29th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have had several letters from you, but have been so engaged that I really have not had time to answer them; and as Tommy Dury kept up a constant correspondence with you, and pretty well acquainted with all our operations and motions, I thought it the less necessary for me to write.

The enemy have left the State, and gone up the North River. If they gain no greater advantages there, than they have in this State, they will have no great triumph. It is said Sir Henry is at the White Plains, bending his course towards Connecticut; doubtless with a view of destroying the forage of that country, to prevent our availing ourselves of it, should we carry on any offensive operations against New York. Whether this will happen or not is yet very uncertain, as it depends upon the arrival of the French fleet, and the united exertions of the States to collect a sufficient force for the purpose.

The arrangement of the Quartermaster's Department is still incomplete. The Congress have it before them; and I am told are putting it upon such a contracted scale, that none but the most indifferent characters will serve in it, as the pay to be allowed will not support a family decently. Roger Sherman is one of the Committee to fix the salaries.

I did all in my power to get the Committee of Congress at Camp to complete the business before it went to Congress, but could not prevail on them. General Schuyler was perfectly willing, the other two were not. Never was a people so embarrassed by such politicians. They have such a

desire to please one another, and such a thirst for popularity, that all their measures are of the servile kind. God preserve us, for I am sure they will not.

I wish you here exceedingly, not but that things go on tolerably well in your Department; but I have nobody to consult with upon a thousand matters which occur daily, in the preparations for the opening prospect.

West Point is in a good state of defence and tolerably well supplied with provisions. I should have no objection to Sir Harry investing it, by way of amusement, until the arrival of the French fleet.

General Wilkinson was with me the other day in the action of Springfield; and was very active in discovering the enemy's motions. It is a pity so good an officer is lost to the service.

I have lately received a letter from the Board of Treasury, threatening to publish me as a public defaulter if I don't bring in my accounts by the 1st of August. I shall send you a copy of it in a day or two, and beg you to give the necessary orders without loss of time, for bringing your accounts to a close, agreeable to the order of the Board. I have written the Board such an answer as I am sure they will not like; and I have also written to Congress in a style I am sure that will not please them. It is upon the subject of responsibility.

We are now in the most barren country in the world. The officers are without baggage, and the troops without tents. Their sufferings are so great that they are ready to mutiny. All this happens for want of teams. We have no money for any purpose in the world.

My best respects to Mrs. Biddle, Mrs. Wilkinson, Doctor Hutchinson and his lady, and your brother Owen and family. God bless you with better health, and a speedy return to the army.

Yours, sincerely,

N. GREENE.

COL. BIDDLE.

GENERAL GREENE TO OTHO H. WILLIAMS.

Head-Quarters, near Bacon Bridge, June 6, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

I have had only one line from you since you left Camp. Captain Shurbrick told me yesterday that he had just received a letter from you. I was in hope, as you have leisure on your hands, I should have had the pleasure of often hearing from you. Capt. Selmon goes off early this morning, (and I have just returned from a ride with Mrs. Greene, who rides on horseback,) which will prevent my writing as fully as I intended.

The operations of this campaign are as insipid as they were important the last. How they will terminate is difficult to conjecture. The change of the British ministry, and the overtures which have been made for the suspension of hostilities, opens a great field for speculation. Most people think

a peace will soon take place. I confess I am not of that number. However, the troubles in Ireland may lead to it; the military Congress appear to be making large strides towards independence. The poor Scotch are much down in the mouth; all the changes operate to their prejudice. Those in Charleston refuse to drink the King's health. General Wayne lately dispersed a large party of the enemy in Georgia under Colonel Brown. The manœuvre was bold, and the execution spirited. About forty of the enemy were killed and wounded, and about twenty taken, and upwards of forty cavalry corps. You know we were not strong when you left us, but we are much less so now. Most part of the North Carolina Line are discharged, and many soldiers belonging to other Lines. The officers of the army are by no means as harmonious as they were last year, particularly your Line. Adams and Steward will never agree, and the cavalry don't agree. The officers of the light troops do not think highly of L.'s military abilities. However, he has had no field to display them. The discipline of the army is as rigid as ever. The face of mutiny appeared among us a little time past. I hung a sergeant, and sent away five others, among whom was Peters, the steward. This decisive step put a stop to it, and you cannot conceive what a change it has made in the temper of the army.

Our family as much as formerly. Pearce and Pendleton as polite as ever, Morris as careless, Burnet as cross, and Shubrick as independent. Morris is courting, but at a distance, too much I fear to get the citadel. Poor fellow, he is now unwell, at Mrs. Ellicot's. Washington is married, and fats upon the rice swamps, and I think we may expect a plentiful harvest in due season. Mrs. Greene is not in good health, but gay and thoughtful. They call her the French lady in Charleston. She is much your friend, and laments your absence from the army. How are your prospects of promotion? I am as much a stranger to the Northern politics as if I did not belong to the same nation. Never was an army left so unsupported as ours is; the hope of an evacuation here has delayed kind supplies, and now the army is literally naked, almost as much so as at Pedee. I am told great reformation is talked of at court. I wish the path may not be made too straight for us to walk in. The officers of the American army have great merit, and no small share of patience, but there is a point beyond which men cannot bear burdens. I should be glad to hear how matters go on in Maryland. I fear the progress of the recruiting is slow. It will give me pleasure to hear from you when you have time and opportunity. We have as much repose this campaign as we had little the last, and indeed it is very happy for us that we have, for I can hardly know how we should be able to move in our ragged condition.

Mrs. Greene desires her best respects to you, accompanied with every good wish for your health and happiness. The gentlemen of the family also wish you much happiness, among whom none are more serious than your sincere and affectionate friend,

N. G.

I am told Colonel Lee is married. I wish to learn the truth of it.

Head-Quarters, Ashley River, Sept. 7th, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I wrote you some time past an answer to your letter of the 1st of June. In that letter I congratulated you upon your promotion, from which I feel a singular happiness—but observed, at the same time, that the manner was more honourable to you than satisfactory to the Colonels of the army.

Your right of promotion, which took place from the United States being formed in districts, was repealed before your promotion took place, and being promoted upon a principle of mind, the Colonels feel an injury in the comparison that their mind is less conspicuous than yours. Colonel Pinkney wrote me on the subject, and I believe has written Congress. I gave him copies of my letters to Congress, which were satisfactory. I expect other Colonels will feel the same injury, and very likely make the same application. The love of rank is so strong a principle in the breast of a soldier that he who has a right to promotion will not admit another over his head willingly upon a principle of mind. You are not to expect, therefore, that everybody will subscribe to the justice of your promotion. You must content yourself with having obtained it, and that no man is without his enemies but a fool.

The state of European politics is such that it is difficult to tell what we are to expect. Peace seems to be probable, and yet I would believe nothing until it is signed, sealed, and delivered. The nation which is wicked enough to begin an unjust war, will be wicked enough to practise every deception.

Appearance strongly indicates a speedy evacuation of all this country. Georgia is ours, and Wayne acquitted himself with great honour. Our struggles are less this year than the last, but our sufferings have been greater on account of our want of clothing and provisions. I have had other difficulties, and some disputes, one with the Legion, which is consigned to Congress. Reforms are always disagreeable, however necessary. Attempts of this sort have given some disgust, but a strict regard for justice, and a steady perseverance, soon silences clamours, although secret discontent may continue. Many things of this sort have happened, and perhaps more may happen, but you know I never regard opposition where I am persuaded I am in the way of my duty. Poor Laurens has fallen in a paltry little skirmish. You knew his temper, and I predicted his fate. I wish his fall had been glorious, as his fate is much to be lamented. The love of military glory made him seek it upon all occasions unworthy of his high rank. His State will feel his loss, his father will hardly survive it. He has been rather unhappy in his command in the opposition he met with from the officers of the Legion. The pride of the corps, from long indulgence, and from their great reputation, made them not unlike the Prætorian guards, difficult to govern, and impatient of subordination.

I have never heard from Lee but once since he left Camp. I am told that he is married to a lady of great fortune, and never proposes to join the army again. It is said by some of his friends that he thinks the public have not an idea of his merit, and that I have not done justice to his services in my public accounts. I think whoever reads my letters, and knows the facts, will agree that I have done ample justice both to the men and to the officers.

I am glad to hear that the sentiments of the public are so flattering to the Southern army. The Southern States have acted generously by me, and if I can close the business honourably here I shall feel doubly happy; happy for the people, and happy for myself.

I think the public are not a little indebted for our exertions. The Southern States were lost, they are now restored. The American arms were in disgrace, they are now in high reputation. The American soldiers were thought to want both patience and fortitude to contend with difficulties, they are now remarkable for both. That sentiment had taken deep root in Europe, but is now totally changed. Indeed, the change of British Administrations is in a great measure owing to our efforts, and the consequences resulting from them. I hope I do not arrogate too much in saying this, and in saying we have contributed not a little to the glory of the nation and the American arms; and yet my conduct is regarded with a jealous eye by those in power. Some of my letters to Congress, urging our distress upon the last Camp march, gave offence. This was the ostensible cause, but I believe the true one was, the reputation the public allowed me, and the interest the Southern States had given me has given rise to envy and perhaps jealousy. The government which cannot rejoice in the success of its servants will never arrive to greatness. It is impossible to inspire the people with ardour without encouraging a noble enthusiasm, and political distrust and envy is death to it. How different the conduct of the Romans. The politics of America partake too much of the temper of the Carthaginians to produce anything uniformly great. There is a late arrangement of the army which will lay aside most of your Southern officers. I imagine you will see it lost before you receive this letter. Some officers like it, others reprobate it. I shall give no opinion of the manner or the matter.

General Gist is very ill at Colonel Steward's, and Major Eggleston is both sick and absent, and the line of the army is very sickly, and deaths frequent. Mrs. Greene and myself have escaped the fever hitherto, but Morris, Pearce, and Pendleton have all been sick, and are now ———, and yesterday Shubrick was taken down with a fever. Miss Greene and all the gentlemen desire to be affectionately remembered to you. Mrs. Greene says you must get married, that you own to it secretly, and that your own happiness depends on it. All the family join me in best wishes for your health and happiness.

I am, dear sir, your affectionate friend,

N. GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Ashley River, November 12, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 2d of October was handed me a day or two ago. I am very sorry to find your rheumatic complaints increased, and grown more obstinate. The waters do not effect an immediate cure, although the patient may receive great benefit by them. Don't be discouraged, but persevere and exercise patience, and when you least expect it, nature may restore you to perfect health. I should be happy to have you in the field, but I have no command, even for the officers that are here. All the troops belonging to the Pennsylvanian and the Maryland Lines, except one regiment of each, are going home, and will march in a day or two. General Gist has been sick ever since he was at Cambabee, where poor Laurens fell. The Delaware troops are going home also. The first and third regiments of light dragoons are incorporated into one, and Major Swan has the command of them for the present, but Baylor and Washington are arranged to it. It is the intention of Congress and the Board of War that none but full corps shall be kept in the field when the State has troops enough to form one, when they have not taken the officers proportioned to the men. Many of your officers are on their return in consequence of this measure. It was adopted from a letter of mine upon the subject last spring to form the troops into permanent command. There never can be regularity or discipline in an army without it. On this arrangement taking place, Lieutenant-Colonel Harmer takes command of the first Pennsylvania regiment, and Major Edwards is appointed Adjutant-General. I expect the enemy will be gone in a day or two. They have called in all their safeguards last night. I find, by a Parliamentary Register, there was 1300 troops and upwards in the Southern Department last year, besides all the militia which acted with the enemy, and those amounted to not less than 2000, exclusive of the negroes. They had more than 1000 of them in the different military departments of the army. This includes Lord Cornwallis's army in Virginia. At the time the battle of Eutaw was fought, by the enemy's returns, laid before Parliament, it appears the enemy had in Charleston, and in their advanced army, 7000 men fit for duty, besides all the militia and the negroes. What an amazing difference between their force and ours. From these authorities I find our operations now much more glorious than ever we considered them. I long to get them away, that the issue may be as pleasing as the whole has been important. How we shall spend the winter is yet uncertain. On this subject you shall hear more from me hereafter. I have a project in hand. On our entering Charleston I expect a great frolic, and to terminate with a fine ball. The Governor acts with dignity, spirit and gallantry. Mrs. Greene has set her heart upon it; you know I am not much in this way. Can you believe it, Mr. Bennetford, that railer against matrimony, is married to Miss Elliot. They are both eccentric in their tempers, and if they should be so in their movements, God knows what mischances might happen. Morris is pursuing a left-handed courtship with

Miss Nancy Elliot. Most people think it will be a match. Mrs. Greene says it is doubtful, and you know the ladies are the best judges in their matters. She desires me to remember her very affectionately to you, and to inform you she very sincerely sympathizes with you in your sufferings, and in your rheumatic complaints, but at the same time inform you that she is a little apprehensive these punishments are brought upon you for the tyranny which you have exercised over some of the fair, and for living an old bachelor when so many fine ladies are in want of a good husband; if those evils spring from that source, there is but one way to remove them, that is to repent and reform, get married, and become an honest man. All the family send their regard.

Yours, affectionately,

N. GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Charleston, 11th April, 1783.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I only write this letter as an apology for not writing. I really have not time. Some disputes which the Governor of this State has engaged me in, leave me little opportunity to discharge the duties of friendship. It is upon the subject of flags. He claims the sole right of sending flags and receiving them. I expect, in a day or two, he will give his orders for the command of the army. My dispute with him is not whether he had a right, but he disputes my right. A British officer came with a flag to me, and he sent a warrant by a sheriff to apprehend him, and actually put the crew (as the flag came by water) into confinement. Never was there such an idle dispute; none but a lunatic would have engaged in it. But as groundless and foolish as his right is, he supports it with such obstinacy as I fear in the end will oblige me to do what of all things I wish to avoid. All the sensible men of this country reprobate his conduct. The hope of peace, and the removal of danger, give the Executive great airs. Congress is little more regarded than if they had no political endurance. I fear the principle of Confederation is not sufficiently understood to work out a proper line between the particular States and the United States. I think you have acted wisely in resigning, and leaving the army. Your prospects are better in the civil than in the military line. You have glory in abundance; become as rich as you are honourable, and then your standing and character will be complete. All the gentlemen of my family are going into civil life. Burnet is gone into trade, Pendleton into the study and practice of the law, and Pearce is going to the West Indies, to push his fortune. Morris is married, and gone to a plantation, and I am left alone. Mrs. Greene is in a bad state of health, and is coming to the Northward soon, and if there is peace, as reports say, I expect to be to the Northward soon also. Now you have become a citizen, you ought to perform all the duties, and engage in all — — Get married, and live happily in a domestic character. Get as large a fortune as you can, but don't sacrifice to make what they can never re-

store you. Mrs. Greene says you have no time to lose; the handsome face, and the sprightly air will shortly begin to be less pleasing. She begs you to accept her affectionate compliments, and best wishes for your health and happiness. I am this moment setting out for Fort Moultrie with Colonel ——— and cannot add, or even read what I have written. Remember me to Smith, McHenry, Howard, and Calhoun, and believe me,

Affectionately yours,
N. GREENE.

No. VI.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

December, 1778.

Joseph Reed, President, Philadelphia County.
George Bryan, Vice-President, Philadelphia City.
Joseph Hart, Bucks County.
John Mackey,
Matthew Smith, Lancaster County.
James McLene, Cumberland County.
James Read, Berks County.
Jacob Arndt, Northampton County.
Thomas Uric, Bedford County.
Thomas Scott, Westmoreland County.

December, 1779.

Joseph Reed, President, Philadelphia County.
William Moore, Vice-President, Philadelphia City.
John Lacey, Jr., Bucks County.
Joseph Gardner, Chester County.
James Read, Berks County.
Jacob Arndt, Northampton County.
John Hambright, Northumberland County.
Thomas Scott, Westmoreland County.
Robert Whitehill, Cumberland County.
James Thompson, York County.

December, 1780.

Joseph Reed, President, Philadelphia County.
William Moore, Vice-President, Philadelphia City.
John Lacey, Jr., Bucks County.

John Gardner, Chester County.
Robert Whitehill, Cumberland County.
James Read, Berks County.
John Van Campen, Northampton County.
John Piper, Bedford County.
Christopher Hayes, Westmoreland County.
James Potter, Northumberland County.

No. VII.—Page 403.

[In 1766, Mr. Reed, then a young lawyer in New Jersey, wrote a prize Essay (Vol. I. p. 334), on the advantages of perpetual union between Great Britain and her Colonies. The following is a fragment of an Essay written by him during his last visit to Great Britain in 1784, twenty years having worked strange and momentous changes. This is a mere fragment, and is printed from an imperfect draught.]

THOUGHTS ON THE INTEREST AND POLICY OF GREAT
BRITAIN AS THEY RESPECT NORTH AMERICA.

In private life when a wise man fails in a favourite pursuit, or loses a part of his estate, he will not sit down in fruitless regret, and idle murmurs, but strive to repair the injury, save a part, and, if possible, improve what is left. Still less will he grow angry, and fret against the supposed authors of his misfortune or disappointment, who despise his impotent resentment, and perhaps have it in their power to injure him still farther. This is more applicable to nations than individuals, because between the latter explanations may be had, mutual kindnesses shown, and the edge of resentments worn off by personal civility. Not so with nations. Trade once lost is seldom or never regained. Enmities once contracted strengthen with time, and though a common resentment against a third Power may form a temporary union, it is accompanied with no cordiality. If, therefore, the trade of America is of importance to Great Britain, if conciliation of good will and mutual friendship afford prospects of real beneficial aid to this country, favoured by sameness of language, religion, and other ties not existing between America and other nations, this is the moment to begin the work, and it is for Britain, who confesses and laments the late unfortunate War, to set an example of magnanimity and generosity. Suppose this country engaged in a war with any of her old European enemies, from what country or what alliance could she draw such support and assistance as from America? Her naval stores would not depend on those supplies from the

Baltic which other nations might occasionally be interested in withholding, and more liable to interruption. Under what neutral flag could she trade so safely and conveniently, her merchants transacting their business with their old correspondents, and in their native language? If sailors were wanting—and in time of war when were sailors not wanting?—where could so convenient, so congenial a substitute be had (if encouragement was given?) Further, it is scarcely to be questioned that in this case American privateers under British colours favoured, would swarm in every part of the ocean, distressing the enemies of Great Britain without weakening her own natural strength. Nor could the enemies of Great Britain complain. The American flag was used by the French to this purpose in the last War, not only by the connivance but the encouragement of France, and the Governors of their islands partook of the profits. Suppose, for a moment, a British or French island equally distressed by the War, which would have the best chance of relief, either in receiving supplies from the Mother Country, or sending its produce to her? The Frenchman, by his language, complexion, appearance of his ship, and other national distinctions, immediately betrays himself, but what can distinguish the American from the Briton. These are only a few of the benefits which this country acting wisely must draw from her friendship with North America, and which are only enumerated, as they have not, nor perhaps could with propriety be yet publicly mentioned.

A greater and more important object of national union, which comprehends both political and commercial interests, present and future, very naturally draws the attention of every American, and deserves that of every Englishman. An object in which America and Great Britain can have no separate interest, and but one opinion, to that which will establish her funds on the most permanent foundation, raise and support a naval power which may bid defiance to all competition, enlarge her trade, extend her manufactures to her utmost wishes, and finally regain, if not pass, that point of splendour and power which she enjoyed at the Peace of Paris in the year 1763. To demonstrate that this is no visionary scheme, but built on the solid principles of nature and reason, it will be necessary shortly to state the present condition of Great Britain, that of America, and of the object I have in view, viz., the Spanish dominions in America bordering on the United States.

As the state of Great Britain must be best known to those whose situation gives them the best opportunities of knowledge, I will only make such observations as may be necessary to explain, connect, and enforce the point I have directly in view. I think, therefore, the following positions may be fairly allowed as facts.

First. That Great Britain is deeply involved in debt, the interest of which she finds it difficult to pay, that new taxes must be laid, and yet the objects of taxation, and prospects of being productive, are equally difficult to discover, without endangering the public peace, and, perhaps, straining the cord till it breaks, never to be joined together.

Secondly. That Great Britain at present stands without an ally in the world, on whom she can place that dependence which arises from a union of interest as well as affection. The alliances against her in the late War, formed and prosecuted on no other principle than that of humbling and reducing her, show what opinion the maritime nations of Europe have of her, and how gladly they will, at all times, see and join in reducing her trade, power, and consequence.

Thirdly. The advancement of the Marine of the House of Bourbon, particularly of France, shown by their conduct in the late War, their present improvement and attention to it, with the aid they have given the Americans, all show the rooted enmity which she has to this country, and, of course, point out the indispensable policy of Great Britain to avail herself, at this early period, of every circumstance which can add to her own strength, and weaken her adversaries, and, more especially, when she can do it without any violation of treaty, or becoming principal, or even party, further than her own interests and inclinations lead.

Fourthly. The relative state of India is considered by all an object of the first magnitude, pregnant with difficulties, of which there is only a choice, its separation to be dreaded as a misfortune, its connexion feared and lamented as an evil, the source of endless embarrassments, universal corruption of manners, and national disgrace.

In this situation it is natural to look round, and see from what quarter Great Britain can receive most effectual relief, and, most certainly, from none but North America, which may be done by a choice of the best end, and the most prudent means of pursuing it.

The disposition of America ever since the signing the Provincial Articles has been unexpectedly conciliating and friendly. When the merchants feared they would withhold their trade with this country, it was opened with eagerness, all prosecutions ceased against those who had taken part against America. The articles of the Treaty favourable to them in the restoration of these persons have been adopted, while those requiring reciprocal returns have been notoriously violated by carrying their negroes away. In short, the conciliatory spirit of America is manifest to all the world, and will continue, if not checked and counteracted by injudicious and irritating measures on the part of Great Britain. Possessed of great territory, and increasing rapidly in numbers, indisposed to manufacture, and already drained of specie, she is looking earnestly for some source of supply, for however willing she may be to take the manufactures of Great Britain, it would be wrong to desire them, and insane to expect them, if she had not some adequate means of payment. At present she has disbanded an army of well-disciplined troops, seasoned to the field, and inured to danger, who are destitute of employ, and unwilling to labour. There were too many repellent articles between them and France, to suppose a strong attachment would continue longer than the sense of common enmity of Great Britain, and danger from her. That is over, and Great Britain already possessed of three-fourths of her trade, while the French, not adverting to the established

principles of commerce, when left to their natural operation, exclaim loudly against American ingratitude, with reproaches which may exasperate, but will never conciliate. Thus an antigallican spirit was rapidly gaining ground in America, till British restrictions on the West India trade, rigidly enforced, and French Arrets, framed with some policy, but relaxed with more, have made an invidious distinction favourable to the latter, and supported her declining interest. With respect to Spain, North America has no attachments, but, on the contrary, very strong prejudices. The cold, supercilious treatment expressed by Spain to every overture from Great Britain, and contempt shown the American Minister, has been deeply felt and resented in America, while she refused to grant a free passage of the Mississippi, with her jealousy of the new States, which she could not suppress, and dare not avow, has kindled the most unfavourable sentiments throughout the whole Continent, and disposed them to seek rather than decline a quarrel. At present a territorial line divides the Spanish and the Americans in one part, and the River Mississippi on the other. The lands are fertile, and Indian trade profitable. Emigrations have already begun; a great settlement, which numbered 2000 fighting men in the year 1782, has been made on the River Kentucke, emptying into the Ohio 800 miles below Fort Pitt, and a like settlement at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi. Last year 3000 families from the old settlements of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, went down the Ohio, but there still remains a distance of above 1200 miles to the ocean, so that these settlers already find they are too remote from the sea to dispose of the surplus produce of these estates, and return against the current that distance with such European and West India commodities as they want. Besides, the productions of the lands in those latitudes, are nearly the same as of the Middle States, and of Europe, viz., flour, other provisions and lumber do not find that sale in the latter which countries near the tropics, as producing rice, indigo and tobacco, &c. Hence they are strongly disposed to remove lower down, and nearer the Spanish neighbourhood, and are only hindered by not having the means, and the want of some forts to protect them at first from the Indians. Notwithstanding these great distances, which surprise Europeans, and induce them to believe that any intercourse, and much less of trade, cannot be kept up, it is certain that the communication with Canada is very feasible, and much used while the French were possessed of Louisiana and Canada, there being about twenty-six miles only of land carriage in the whole distance from the River St. Lawrence to the Mississippi by the communications of the Lakes. Lord Sheffield, in his Pamphlet, states it only one league, but in this he is mistaken. This great river (the Mississippi) by its length, penetrating some thousands of miles from the sea, and communicating with all the lakes, will be doubtless the greatest source of Indian trade, and channel for British manufactures yet known. The Indian tribes who live on its various communications are exceedingly numerous, much less savage in their manners, and therefore more capable of

commercial intercourse. They entertain, also, an hereditary hatred to the Spaniards, with whom they avoid all possible intercourse. Their antipathy is so rooted and traditional, that from this circumstance, with a greater refinement of manners, and far less ferocity, they are supposed to be the descendants of the Mexican and Peruvian Indians who retired from the invasion under Cortes, Pizarro, and the other Spaniards who desolated the Western World, that they either drove their more savage brethren further back, or were adopted and incorporated with them. We come now to consider the Spanish territories on the great Western Continent, which border upon, and must soon feel, the neighbourhood of the United States. And first, with respect to the Floridas, lately ceded by Great Britain to Spain.

It has much puzzled the politicians of America why Great Britain so readily gave up those Provinces after struggling for them so earnestly at the conclusion of the former War, taking great pains to settle them, and promote the cultivation of that produce for which their climate and soil is so favourable; they seemed to offer an asylum to the loyalists or refugees, far more favourable to them, and equally beneficial to their country, with the cold, inhospitable soil and climate of Nova Scotia, and certainly the United States did not expect so ample a concession in that quarter. It has been supposed by many that the Ministers of Great Britain, sagaciously foreseeing the natural consequences that must follow by permitting, or rather favouring, the approximation of the Spaniards and Americans, wished to plant the seeds of discord, which, from the Family Compact and mutual alliances, must soon affect the whole House of Bourbon, detach the interests and affections of the United States from those of France, of which she might avail herself at pleasure. English politicians do not give their Ministers the credit of such foresight, but say, that being obliged to cede Gibraltar or the Floridas, they were constrained to choose the latter. However, this would not hold of the country ceded to the United States above the 31st degree of N. Latitude, so that after all, it may be considered, if not a great stroke of political foresight, which this Memorial is calculated to carry into effect, a happy event by which America and Great Britain may be united in the bonds of mutual friendship and interest, and mutually give some relief to a great body of men groaning under the weight of oppression and bondage. The present inhabitants of the Floridas, with those in Louisiana, that and West Florida being now included under one government, consist of three classes. 1. The old French inhabitants and their descendants, possessing the estates when the country was ceded to the Spaniards, after the Peace of 1763. 2. English inhabitants, and settlers from North America, who had settled under the British Government, and now submit to that of the Spaniards. 3d. Spaniards introduced since that change. Of these the first are most numerous, then the second, and the Spaniards least of all. The two former are extremely —

[Here the MS. ends.]

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THE ABOLITION ACT AND GEORGE BRYAN.

In a note on this subject, I expressed the opinion that Mr. Bryan was the author of the Abolition Act. My attention has since been called to confirmatory evidence of this, in the inscription on his tomb in the Arch Street Presbyterian burying-ground, which is as follows :

“ In memory of George Bryan, who died 27th January, 1791, aged 60 years. Mr. Bryan was among the earliest and most active and uniform friends of the rights of man before the Revolutionary War. As a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and of the Congress at New York, in 1765, and as a citizen, he was conspicuous in opposition to the Stamp Act and other acts of British tyranny. He was equally an opponent of Domestic Slavery. The emancipation of the people of colour engaged the feelings of his heart and the energies of his mind, and the Act of Abolition, (which) laid the foundation of their liberation, issued from his pen. He filled several important offices during the Revolutionary contest, and for the last eleven years of his life he was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. In his private deportment he was exemplary,—a Christian in principle and practice.”

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MR. REED'S CHILDREN.

Since the reference to President Reed's family in the text was printed, his youngest daughter, and last surviving child, Miss Esther Reed, died, on the 22d May, 1847, at Philadelphia, in the 72d year of her age.

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No. III.

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